

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
INDO-IRANIAN SERIES

EDITED BY  
A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON  
PROFESSOR OF INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES  
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

---

**Volume Thirteen**  
RESEARCHES IN MANICHAËISM

BY  
A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON



A complete list of the volumes in this series  
will be found at the end of this volume





# RESEARCHES IN MANICHAËISM

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE  
TURFAN FRAGMENTS

BY

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

PROFESSOR OF INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES  
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



NEW YORK  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS  
1932

Copyright, 1932, by  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

---

*Set up and electrotyped  
Published March, 1932*

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY  
LANCASTER PRESS, INC., LANCASTER, PA.

TO THE MEMORY OF

THE REVEREND ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, B.D., PH.D.

LECTURER IN

ORIENTAL LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

WHO DIED NOVEMBER 9, 1925

AS A TOKEN OF OUR FRIENDSHIP  
FOR MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS



## PREFACE

The present volume of Researches in Manichaeism represents studies that were begun in this subject more than ten years ago. Since that time, besides carrying on my regular duties at Columbia University in connection with the classes in Sanskrit and Iranian and the publication of other books and articles, I have never let pass a single day, not even a Sunday or a Holiday, without working on something relating to Manichaeism.

This book, besides including an introductory sketch of Manichaeism, contains also several critical translations made from original Manichaean documents in Turfan Pahlavi, or Middle Persian, which were discovered in Central Asia during the first decade of the present century and a little later. These fragmentary texts are given here in a transliterated form, and in three cases out of four the word-for-word translation is followed by a somewhat freer version. There are also full notes of a philological and illustrative character. In addition to these actual Manichaean documents, there is given a literal rendering and elucidation of three non-Manichaean, or rather anti-Manichaean, texts, two of them written respectively in Pāzand and Book Pahlavi, while the other is in Syriac, but all three throwing light from outside upon the religion of Mānī. Several short monographs on Manichaean subjects complete the work. In a manner, the volume is somewhat of a pioneer in English because of thus bringing together so much out-of-the-way material.

Among the thirteen Studies presented, only four (Studies I, VII, X, XIII) have hitherto appeared in print, due acknowledgment of the source being made in each instance and thanks expressed for the permission granted to reissue. But these particular articles have been carefully revised and additions have been made, these latter being indicated by enclosing in square brackets

[ ]. Similar square brackets have been used to denote references to books or articles that were published, or first became available to me, after each special chapter was written. It has not been feasible to include anything that may have appeared since the end of December, 1930, as the book was already passing through the press.

The mention of printing gives me a welcome opportunity to turn aside for a moment. To all the members of the Columbia University Press and to those individually connected with the difficult task of typesetting and proofreading in the Lancaster Press, Inc., of Lancaster, Pa., I wish to express my appreciation of the constant care and attention they have given to this book.

The first incentive to make a technical work of this kind as a sort of Prolegomena, in order to clear the way for broader studies on Mānī and his religion, came while preparing a series of six general lectures on 'Manichaeism, once a Rival of Zoroastrianism and Christianity,' which were delivered at the University of Chicago in March-April, 1923.—The invitation to give that course I owed to my friend, the late President Harry Pratt Judson, whose memory I shall always cherish.

I am likewise much indebted for help generously given by friends who were once my students. Dr. Louis H. Gray, Professor of Oriental Languages, and associated directly with the Indo-Iranian Department, most kindly read, some years ago, the first draft of the Cosmological Fragment (Study II) and gave valuable suggestions, besides standing always ready if called upon for advice in connection with some mooted linguistic question. Dr. Ralph Marcus, Professor in the Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, gladly also gave assistance with regard to the Syriac in reading the proofsheets of Study VIII (see p. 222 below), upon which chapter I had worked so long with my Assistant, the late Dr. Abraham Yohannan, to whose memory this volume is dedicated. A special acknowledgment is due to still another of my onetime students and friends, Dr. Victor N. Sharenkoff, now of the New York Public Library, who kindly made the comprehen-

sive Index to this work, assisted also by his cousin, Mr. Kyril Belev, who is studying science in the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, N. Y.

Above all, I desire to express unbounded gratitude to my fellow-worker and former pupil, Dr. Charles J. Ogden, Lecturer in Indo-Iranian Languages at Columbia. From the very inception of the work he has been ever at my side with help and advice, imparting information from his wide knowledge and scholarship, and making criticisms with well-balanced judgment as he read each of these Studies when it came towards its close. I owe much to him in these pages, which his name so frequently graces, for many special suggestions, and he has greatly aided me likewise in the task of reading the proofsheets, besides in many other ways. There is an old tradition that dates back to Ancient India concerning the bond between *Śiṣya* and *Guru*, or pupil and teacher, and it is found also in the Avesta of Zoroaster regarding the tie that unites *aēθrya* and *aēθrapaiti*. This lives on to-day as of yore.

With peculiar pleasure I refer likewise to two others of my never-to-be-forgotten Columbia friends, Doctor and Mrs. Frederic S. Lee, to whom the volume that precedes this in the Series was dedicated. Without their special interest and encouragement the present book, like the former, would not have seen the light of day. They know well the thanks that come from the heart of a scholar who is working in so remote a field.

The indebtedness I owe to my Wife I can best express by adapting a quotation from Shakespeare to say that my thanks

‘Are register’d where every day I turn  
The page to read them.’

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,  
December 31, 1930.

## AN ADDED MEMORANDUM OF EXPLANATION

Owing to the different periods of time at which the various Studies were written during the course of more than a decade, there will be found a few repetitions of the same idea with slight changes of expression or other minor variations. These have been allowed to stand because they will occasion little trouble to the specialist, who is probably the only one that will use the book.

In referring to pages in works of large format I have given some help for the eye by making, very roughly, a threefold division of the page into top, middle (mid.) and bottom (bot.), the last approximately indicating the lower third of the page cited. See also below, under ABBREVIATIONS, p. xx, xxi.

Among the myriad references in the volume it is likely that some errors may have slipped in, or have been overlooked, in spite of all the care that has been taken. I shall be glad to thank anyone who will be so kind as to write me personally in regard to such oversights.

Circumstances have delayed the appearance of the volume, owing particularly to a long illness from which I am happily now recovered.

A. V. W. J.

October 22, 1931



## CONTENTS

PREFACE . . . . .	vii
CONTENTS . . . . .	xi
ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	xx
BIBLIOGRAPHY. . . . .	xxiv
NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION AND PRONUNCIATION. . . .	xxxvii

## PART I

### MANICHAËISM AND ITS HISTORY

STUDY I. INTRODUCTION.—A BRIEF SKETCH OF MANICHAËISM AND ITS HISTORY . . . . .	3
Manichaeism arose in the Persian Empire in the third century A.D. Combated alike by Zoroastrianism and Christianity . . . . .	3
New interest in the study aroused by the recent discovery of Manichaean fragmentary documents in Central Asia. . . . .	4
Sketch of the life of Mānī, a Persian by blood, born in Babylonia . . . . .	5
Outline of Mānī's religious teachings . . . . .	7
Spread of Manichaeism eastward, even into China . . . .	17
The diffusion of Manichaeism in the West . . . . .	17
Despite opposition, persecution and suppression Manichaeism long lived on . . . . .	18
Paulicians, Bogomils, Cathari, Albigenses, and other sects showing Manichaean survivals . . . . .	19
Conclusion . . . . .	19

## PART II

### TRANSLATIONS OF TURFAN PAHLAVI MANICHAËAN FRAGMENTS WITH NOTES AND TRANSLITERATED TEXTS

STUDY II. THE MANICHAËAN COSMOLOGICAL FRAGMENT M. 98-99 IN TURFAN PAHLAVI . . . . .	22
---	----

Introduction . . . . .	22
The Eight Earths . . . . .	25
Concerning transliteration, signs and symbols, and trans- lation . . . . .	26
The Caption Lines . . . . .	27
Text and translation of the TPhl. Fragment M. 98-99 . . . . .	30
Notes on M. 98 a 1-25 . . . . .	38
Notes on M. 98 b 1-25 . . . . .	46
Notes on M. 98 c 1-25 . . . . .	54
Notes on M. 98 d 1-25 . . . . .	59
Conclusion . . . . .	70
Appendix—Summary of the Eight Earths, with Inserted Cut . . . . .	72
Tentative DIAGRAM AND SKETCH of the Eight Earths <i>facing</i> . . . . .	74
STUDY III. THE MANICHAEAN FRAGMENT S. 9 IN	
TURFAN PAHLAVI . . . . .	75
Introduction . . . . .	75
Outline of contents of S. 9 . . . . .	77
Text and literal translation of S. 9 recto a . . . . .	78
Text and literal translation of S. 9 recto b . . . . .	80
Text and literal translation of S. 9 verso c . . . . .	81
Text and literal translation of S. 9 verso d . . . . .	83
Freer rendering of Fragment S. 9 . . . . .	84
Notes on S. 9 recto, column a . . . . .	86
Notes on S. 9 recto, column b . . . . .	105
Notes on S. 9 verso, column c . . . . .	113
Notes on S. 9 verso, column d . . . . .	121
STUDY IV. THE MANICHAEAN FRAGMENT S. 7 IN TURFAN	
PAHLAVI . . . . .	127
Introduction . . . . .	127
Outline of contents of S. 7 . . . . .	128
Text and verbatim translation of S. 7 . . . . .	128
Freer rendering of Fragment S. 7 . . . . .	132
Notes on S. 7 recto, column a . . . . .	133

# CONTENTS

xiii

Notes on S. 7 recto, column b . . . . .	140
Notes on S. 7 verso, column c . . . . .	144
Notes on S. 7 verso, column d . . . . .	150

## STUDY V. THE MANICHAEAN FRAGMENT S. 8 IN TURFAN

PAHLAVI . . . . .	158
Introduction . . . . .	158
Contents of this brief Fragment . . . . .	159
Suggestions regarding the possible historic background .	160
Text and verbatim translation . . . . .	162
Freer rendering of Fragment S. 8 . . . . .	163
Notes on S. 8 recto, a . . . . .	163
Notes on S. 8 verso, b. . . . .	170

## PART III

### TWO ANTI-MANICHAEAN CHAPTERS IN BOOK- PAHLAVI WORKS TRANSLATED WITH TEXT AND NOTES

#### STUDY VI. MĀNĪ'S TEACHINGS ACCORDING TO THE (PAHLAVI) PĀZAND BOOK SHIKAND-GŪMĀNĪG VIZHĀR (ŠKAND-VIMĀNĪK VIČĀR) . . . . .

(PAHLAVI) PĀZAND BOOK SHIKAND-GŪMĀNĪG VIZHĀR (ŠKAND-VIMĀNĪK VIČĀR) . . . . .	174
Introduction . . . . .	174
Pāzand text transliterated and translated . . . . .	176
Notes, philological and explanatory, on <i>Škand-Vimānīk</i> <i>Vičār</i> , 16. 1-52 . . . . .	181

#### STUDY VII. THE SO-CALLED INJUNCTIONS OF MĀNĪ, TRANSLATED FROM THE PAHLAVI OF DĒNKART 3. 200 .

Introduction. This is a polemical chapter written against Mānī's teachings by a Zoroastrian High Priest in the fourth century A.D. . . . .	203
Pahlavi text transliterated and translated . . . . .	204
Notes and comments on Dēnkart 3. 200, 1-13 . . . . .	208

## PART IV

THEODORE BAR KHONI ON  
MĀNĪ'S TEACHINGS

STUDY VIII. THEODORE BAR KHONI ON MĀNĪ'S TEACHINGS, TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC BY DR. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, WITH NOTES BY A. V. W. JACKSON . . .	221
Introduction . . . . .	221
Translation and Notes, beginning . . . . .	222
Mānī teaches that there are Two Principles, Light and Darkness . . . . .	222
Invasion of the Realm of Light by the King of Darkness . . . . .	224
To offset this the Father of Greatness calls into being the First Evocation, which includes the Mother of Life, who then evokes Primal Man, while he in turn evokes his Five Sons (the Light Elements) . . . . .	224
Armed with these Five Elements as his panoply, Primal Man goes forth to battle against the King of Darkness and his Five Sons . . . . .	225
Primal Man is defeated, made captive, and bereft of his senses, while the Five Sons that form his armor of Light are devoured by the powers of Darkness . . . . .	226
To effect the rescue of Primal Man, the Supreme Deity calls into existence a Second Evocation, namely, the Friend of Light, who evokes the Great Bān (Builder), who in his turn calls forth the Living Spirit, which latter evokes Five Sons to be his assistants in later forming the Cosmos. . . . .	228
Description of the rescue of Primal Man. (Cf. also below, Study IX, p. 258-263) . . . . .	229
In order to form the visible world, the Living Spirit, aided by his Five Sons and the Mother of the Living, creates the ten heavens and eight earths, the sun, moon, and stars, also the spheres ('wheels') of the wind, water, and fire far below. . . . .	233
The Father of Greatness evokes a Third Evocation, namely, the Messenger . . . . .	240

The Messenger, in turn, evokes the symbolic Twelve Virgins (indirectly to be associated also with the constellations of the Zodiac?) . . . . .	241
The Messenger orders the 'ships' of the sun and moon to be set in motion, and likewise the 'three wheels' (spheres) of the wind, water, and fire to ascend heavenward; and he bids the Great Architect Bān construct the New Earth . . . . .	242
The Messenger reveals his androgynous forms seductively to the Archons chained in heaven; this was a further *scheme to release the imprisoned light . . . . .	244
The production of vegetal and animal life . . . . .	247
Origin of the human species, Adam and Eve . . . . .	249
Jesus the Luminous appears before Adam in order to arouse him from his lethargic sleep and to warn and guide him. . . . .	249
Adam becomes enlightened . . . . .	252

## PART V

MONOGRAPHS ON SEVERAL MANICHAEAN  
SUBJECTS

STUDY IX. NOTES ON THE RESCUE OF PRIMAL MAN . . . . .	255
Introduction. The defeat and capture of Primal Man by the powers of Darkness was a momentous event, and his rescue from the evil hosts formed a dramatic incident that is referred to in most of the Manichaeian sources . . . . .	255
The first stage of the drama—the battle and temporary defeat of Primal Man . . . . .	255
The second stage of the movement. Upon recovering his senses Primal Man lifts up a prayer to the Father of Greatness. . . . .	256
The Godhead evokes a Second Evocation, (1) the Friend of Light, (2) the Great Architect Bān, and (3) the Living Spirit, in order that they may take part in the rescue of Primal Man . . . . .	257

The Mother of Life, who belongs to the First Evocation, is naturally concerned and shares in the release of her son, Primal Man. The activity of the Great Architect Bān is deferred until somewhat later, as explained (p. 283-287) . . . . .	258
The Friend of Light, as a pioneer, is instrumental in loosening Primal Man from the shackles of Darkness. . . .	258
The Mother of Life and the Living Spirit proceed to the Border, and the Living Spirit sends down his Voice, or Call . . . . .	259
This Voice (the Appellant) and Primal Man's Answer (the Respondent) ascend and are united to the Living Spirit and the Mother of the Living respectively . . . .	261
Primal Man is finally restored to the realm of Light by the Living Spirit and the Mother Goddess . . . . .	262
Brief account of the rescue in the Chinese Treatise . . .	263
Summary of the action as given in the Acta Archelai . .	264
Possible allusions in several Manichaean hymns . . . .	265
Primal Man's first exploit, in cutting the roots of the five dark trees of evil . . . . .	266
Primal Man's second exploit, his encounter with and subjugation of the Devil (Shmnu, Shumnu) . . . . .	268
Conclusion. Reference to the liberation of Primal Man in an unpublished TPhl. Fragment . . . . .	269
STUDY X. THE "SECOND EVOCATION" IN THE MANICHAEAN SYSTEM OF COSMOGONY . . . . .	
Introduction. Three successive evocations by the Supreme Being are recognized by Mānī . . . . .	271
Importance of the second triad of these divine personifications because of the rôle they play in connection with the rescue of Primal Man and in bringing the visible world into existence. . . . .	272
The Friend of Light, termed also Narēsaf, as the first member of this triune group, loosens the shackles of Primal Man, and is throughout a Messenger of Good Tidings	273
The Great Bān (to be identified also with Bām in Soghdian) is the architect in accordance with whose plan the	

visible world is formed by the Living Spirit, being likewise the fashioner of the New Paradise hereafter, and the builder of the Grave in which Darkness is ultimately to be interred forever . . . . .	283
The Living Spirit is the Demiurge who, aided by his five Sons, constructs the Ten Heavens and Eight Earths that make up the Cosmos . . . . .	288
STUDY XI. THE FIVE SONS OF THE LIVING SPIRIT . . . . .	296
The Living Spirit, as the demiurgic power in the world, evoked Five Sons as assistants in constructing and managing the visible universe . . . . .	296
Allusions to these five by picturesque names, or by their special functions, are found in all the indirect Manichaean sources (e.g. passages in Theodore bar Khoni, Augustine, Hegemonius, and in several other writers quoted) . . . . .	296
The Manichaean Documents themselves naturally furnish direct evidence as well . . . . .	306
The Turfan Pahlavi Fragments designate the five by appellations derived from old Avestan titles of office in the fourfold order of the Zoroastrian state ('House-lord, Village-lord, etc.') adding a fifth as the highest, namely, 'Lord of Protection, or of the Guardianship.' . . . .	307
In a few instances the TPhl. text adds to the special name a paraphrase to indicate the function or office . . . . .	309
In a Turkish Fragment the one allusion to the office of the well-known TPhl. Zand-bēd ('Clan-lord') speaks of him as the 'God of the three Wheels, (namely) the Wind, Water, and Fire.' . . . . .	311
The Chinese Treatise alludes to these Five Sons under descriptive titles which enable us to identify each, especially because parallels are found in Theodore bar Khoni and St. Augustine . . . . .	312
Conclusion. The doctrine of the Five Sons of the Living Spirit is a fundamental one in the religious system of Mānī. . . . .	313

STUDY XII. ALLUSIONS TO THE TEN HEAVENS AND EIGHT EARTHS AND THE LEGENDS ABOUT THEIR FORMATION .	314
Introduction. Through non-Manichæan writers it has long been known that Mānī taught that there were ten heavens and eight earths; the fact that he held this view is now proved by the actual Manichæan documents discovered in Central Asia . . . . .	314
Allusions to these respective numbers in the indirect sources are found in Augustine, Hegemonius, Theodore bar Khoni, and in an-Nadīm's Fihrist. Passages quoted	314
The Manichæan documents themselves furnish direct evidence for 'ten heavens' and 'eight earths.' . . .	315
Allusions in the Turfan Pahlavi and Soghdian texts . . .	315
Allusions in the Turkish Manichæan texts. . . . .	315
Reference in the Chinese Manichæan Treatise . . .	316
The conception of multiple heavens is found in speculative systems earlier than Mānī. . . . .	316
The idea of a sky overspread with skins would be as old as the pelt-tent of the Oriental nomad, while Titan carcasses have ever been fancied as forming the framework of earth . . . . .	317
The Manichæan legend that the firmament was made from the skins of the slain Archons, the earth compacted out of their flesh or excrement, and the mountains made from their bones, is preserved in various polemical works against Mānī's teachings, whether composed in Greek, Syriac, Latin, Pāzand or Book Pahlavi.	317
The arch-demon Kuni, Kund, or Kündag and his fate .	319
STUDY XIII. SHORT CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR KNOWLEDGE OF MANICHÆISM . . . . .	321
I. Rāmṛāṭūkh as a Designation of the Mother of Life .	321
The figure of the great mother-goddess, Mother of the Living, is a familiar one in Manichæism, and is found likewise in the earlier Gnostic systems . . . . .	321
Allusions to her as a divinity in the indirect Manichæan sources, Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic . . . . .	321



Allusions to the 'Mother of the Living' in the actual Manichæan texts, Turfan Pahlavi, Turkish, and Chinese . . . . .	322
In one of the TPhl. Fragments, which mentions the triune group of 'Father, Mother, Son,' the word 'Mother' is glossed in the accompanying Soghdian version as <i>Rāmraṭūkh βaγīy</i> , 'Goddess of the Bounteousness of Joy.' . . . .	323
This divinity is to be identified likewise with 'Joyousness' ('Fröhlichkeit'), used in the Fihrist as a designation of the joyous Mother of Life . . . . .	325
In one other passage in the Fihrist we may similarly interpret a divine title as the 'Spirit of Happiness' ( <i>yumnah</i> ) instead of 'Geist seiner Rechten' ( <i>yamnah</i> ) . . . . .	326
2. The problematic ' <i>Nahnahah</i> ' as applied to the Mother of the Living in the Fihrist . . . . .	328
Instead of the uncertain <i>nahnahah</i> , read with manuscript V. <i>bahiyyah</i> , 'beauteous, shining, brilliant, radiant.' . . . .	329
3. The Manichæan 'Seals' . . . . .	331
From the actual Manichæan texts it can be shown that Mānī recognized seven seals in all. In other words, we find that besides the familiar three moral seals of the mouth, hand, and bosom, which are to be kept in the daily conduct of life, there are four additional seals, spiritual or doctrinal in their nature, which are to be accepted as articles of faith. . . . .	331
The four doctrinal seals, as emblematic of true belief, illustrated by quotations from the Manichæan documents . . . . .	331
The familiar three seals, relating to the proper conduct of the body, were previously known through allusions in Christian and Muhammadan writers, and are now rendered certain by passages found in the Manichæan texts themselves. . . . .	334
INDEXES . . . . .	339
DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY INDO-IRANIAN SERIES AND RELATED PUBLICATIONS	
<i>at end of volume</i>	

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Abh.</i>	<i>Abhandlungen.</i>
<i>AbhKP AW.</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
acc.	accusative.
adj.	adjective.
<i>ad loc.</i>	( <i>ad locum</i> ); on the passage.
<i>AirWb.</i>	<i>Altiranisches Wörterbuch</i> (Bartholomae).
<i>APA W.</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
Ar., Arab.	Arabic.
Arm., Armen.	Armenian.
Av.	Avestan.
Bd.	Bundahishn.
BkPhl.	Book Pahlavi.
bot.	bottom.
Bthl.	Bartholomae.
c.	( <i>circa</i> ); about.
caus.	causative.
<i>Cent. Suppl.</i>	<i>Centenary Supplement</i> (of <i>JRAS.</i> ).
<i>C. F.</i>	<i>Contra Faustum</i> (St. Augustine).
ch., chap.	chapter.
col.	column.
cpd.	compound.
d.	died.
Dk.	Dēnkart.
ed.	edited, edition.
Eng.	English.
<i>ERE.</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i> , ed. Hastings, etc.
f., ff.	following.
fem.	feminine.

fol.	folio.
Frag.	Fragment.
G. Av.	Gāthā Avestan.
gen.	genitive.
Germ.	German.
<i>GIrPh.</i> , <i>GrIrPh.</i>	<i>Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.</i>
Gk.	Greek.
Heb.	Hebrew.
<i>HR.</i>	<i>Handschriften-Reste</i> (Müller).
<i>ibid.</i>	( <i>ibidem</i> ); in the same work.
id.	(idem); the same writer.
<i>IF.</i>	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen.</i>
imper.	imperative.
instr.	instrumental.
<i>JA.</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique.</i>
<i>JAOS.</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
Jn.	Jackson.
<i>JRAS.</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
l., ll.	line, lines.
Lat.	Latin.
lit.	literally.
<i>loc. cit.</i>	( <i>loco citato</i> ); at the place previously cited.
<i>Man. Stud.</i>	<i>Manichaeische Studien I</i> (Salemman).
masc.	masculine.
mid.	middle.
Mkh.	Dāstastān i Mēnūk i Khrat (Mainyō-i-Khrad).
Mn.	Madan (Dēnkart ed. by).
ms.	manuscript.
<i>MSt.</i> , <i>MStud.</i>	<i>Manichaeische Studien I</i> (Salemman).
Mü.	Müller.
Ner.	Neryosang.
NP.	New Persian.
OP.	Old Persian.
<i>op. cit.</i>	( <i>opus citatum</i> ); the work previously cited.

opt.	optative.
orig.	original.
pass.	passive.
Pāz.	Pāzand.
perf.	perfect.
PG.	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> (Migne).
Phl.	Pahlavi.
PL.	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> (Migne).
pl., plur.	plural.
pret.	preterit.
ptcpl.	participle.
PtS.	Peshotan Sanjana (Dēnkart ed. by).
qu.	query?
q. v.	( <i>quod vide</i> ); which see.
r.	recto.
<i>Rech.</i>	<i>Recherches</i> (Cumont).
<i>Sb., Sitzb.</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte</i> .
<i>SBE.</i>	<i>Sacred Books of the East.</i>
<i>SbHdAW.</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
<i>SbKPAW.</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
seq.	( <i>sequitur</i> ); following.
sg., sing.	singular.
ShGV.	Shikand-Gūmānīg Vizhār.
Skt.	Sanskrit.
Sm.	Salemann.
ŠNŠ.	Šāyist nē-Šāyist (Shāyast lā-Shāyast).
Soghd.	Soghdian.
<i>SPAW.</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.</i>
s. v.	( <i>sub verbo</i> ); under the word.
ŠVV.	Škand-Vimānīk Vičār.
Syr.	Syriac.
TPhl.	Turfan Pahlavi.

tr., trans.	translated, translation.
<i>Türk. Man.</i>	<i>Türkische Manichaica</i> (Le Coq).
v.	verso.
var.	variant.
Vd.	Vendīdād (Vīdēvdāt).
v. l.	( <i>varia lectio</i> ); variant reading.
W. and L.	Waldschmidt and Lentz.
WZKM.	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.</i>
Ys.*	Yasna.
Yt.	Yasht.
ZDMG.	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>
ZII.	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.</i>
<i>Zor. Stud.</i>	<i>Zoroastrian Studies</i> (Jackson).
Zsp.	Selections of Zātsparam.
Zt.	<i>Zeitschrift.</i>
<i>ZumAirWb.</i>	<i>Zum Altiranischen Wörterbuch</i> (Bartholomae).
[ ]	Square brackets indicate material added later. They are also employed in passages cited and translated to denote words inserted by the present writer to supply lacunae in the original text.
( )	Parentheses indicate words and phrases inserted in translated passages to round out the grammatical structure of the English or to clarify the sense.
< >	Angular brackets indicate glosses or redundant matter in the original text. They are also employed (in Study VIII) to denote letters written but not pronounced in the Syriac text.
/// and +	For the meaning of these signs see the remarks on page 26.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Up to December 31, 1930)

No attempt is made to give a full bibliography of Manichaeism here. The list that follows is confined to the more important works on the subject and those most often cited in the present volume. Reference is also made to some works of a philological character which have been used in elucidating the Turfan Pahlavi and Book Pahlavi texts.

For convenience the list is subdivided into (A) editions and translations of Manichaean texts, and (B) general works and special articles. A few of the special articles are not included in List B, because the names of their authors and their titles are fully given when they happen to be referred to in the course of these Studies.

### A. EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF MANICHAEAN TEXTS

(Arranged chronologically as to authors)

**Müller, F. W. K.** Handschriften-reste in Estrangelo-schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan [I]. In *Sitzb. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1904, ix, p. 348-352 (Sitzung der phil.-hist. Kl. vom 11 Februar). (This brief communication, covering only five pages, was epoch-making, because it furnished the key for deciphering and interpreting the Manichaean Fragments, discovered in Central Asia.)

— Handschriften-reste in Estrangelo-schrift aus Turfan . . . II Teil, mit 2 Tafeln. In the *Anhang z. d. Abh. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1904. (Very important as containing fuller introductory data, texts transliterated and translated, together with other material and two plates.)

— Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch (Mahrnāmag), in *Abh. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., vom Jahre 1912*, Berlin, 1913.

— For other publications by Müller, see List B, below.

- Salemann, C.** Ein Bruchstück manichaeischen Schrifttums im Asiatischen Museum, mit einem Facsimile. In *Mémoires Acad. Impér. des Sc. de St. Pétersbourg*, 8<sup>me</sup> sér. vol. 6, no. 6, p. 1-26. St. Petersburg (Leningrad), 1904. (Contains a few short Fragments, with transliteration into Hebrew letters, partial translations and notes. Besides this, a section is devoted to chap. 16 of the *Škand-gumānik Vižār*, text transliterated and translated. See below, Study VI.)
- Manichaica I. In *Bulletin de l'Ac. Imp. des Sc. de St. P.* 1907, p. 175-184. Manichaica II, in *op. cit.* 1907, p. 531-558.
- Manichaeische Studien I. Die mittelpersischen texte in revidierter transcription, mit glossar und grammatischen bemerkungen. In *Zapiski Imper. Akad. Nauk*,—*Mémoires de l'Acad. Impér. des Sc. de St. Pétersbourg*, ser. 8, vol. 8, no. 10, St. Petersburg, 1908. (Particularly valuable as the first attempt to prepare a glossary, and as giving in Hebrew characters a re-collation by Müller of the then available texts. Cited as *Man. Stud.*, or *MStud.*)
- Manichaica III-IV. In *Bull. de l'Ac. Imp. des Sc. de St. P.* 1912, p. 1-50. (This work contains a considerable number of Manichaean Fragments in the St. Petersburg (Leningrad) Collection, not previously published. Three of them are included in the present volume of Studies. It also contains a Glossary by Salemann, supplementing the one in his *Manichaeische Studien I.*)
- Le Coq, Alfred von.** Köktürkisches aus Turfan. In *Sitzb. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 41. 1047-1061, Berlin, 1909. (Among the first contributions by this noted Turkologist. It deals with some Turfan Manichaean Fragments written in 'runes'.)
- Chuastuanift, ein Sündenbekenntnis der manichäischen Auditores, gefunden in Turfan (Chinesisch-Turkistan). In the *Anhang zu den Abhandl. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., vom Jahre 1910*, Berlin, 1911. (Text, transl., etc. of the Berlin Fragments preserved in page form, with 2 Plates.)
- Dr. Stein's Turkish Khuastuanift from Tun-Huang, being a Confession-prayer of the Manichæan Auditores. In *Journ. of the Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, April, 1911. 277-314, with a Plate.

(Text of the London roll manuscript, translation, notes, and index.)

— Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho, I, II, III. In *Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1912 (1911), 1919, 1922. (Turkish texts, translation, notes, and indexes. Very valuable; cited frequently.)

Chavannes, Éd. and Pelliot, P. Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine. In *Journal Asiatique*, X<sup>me</sup> sér. t. 18. p. 499-617, Nov.-Dec. 1911.—(Deuxième partie) XI<sup>e</sup> sér. tom. 1. p. 99-199, Jan.-Feb. 1913.—(Suite et fin) p. 261-394, March-Apr. 1913. (Especially valuable as making available in translation, with notes and text, this important Manichaean Treatise. Part 2 gives a detailed account of the history of Manichaeism in China.)

Bang, W(illy). Manichäische Laien-beichtspiegel, in *Muséon*, 36. 137-242, Louvain, 1923. (Turkish text of the *Xvāstavānift*, or Confession-prayer, in transliteration, with translation and notes. Referred to very often.)

— Other articles by Bang are listed below.

Waldschmidt, E. and Lentz, W. Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus. In *Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1926, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Nr. 4, mit 4 Tafeln, Berlin, 1926. (Extremely important, and constantly referred to. Gives hitherto inaccessible Manichaean texts in Chinese and Iranian, with accompanying translations, annotations, and introductory matter.)

## B. GENERAL WORKS AND SPECIAL ARTICLES

(Arranged alphabetically)

**Acta Archelai.** See Hegemonius.

**Albīrūnī.** See under Sachau, below.

**Alexander of Lycopolis.** *Contra Manichaei Opinionones*, ed. A. Brinkmann, Leipzig, 1895.

**Alfaric, Prosper.** *L'Évolution intellectuelle de Saint Augustin.* Vol. 1, *Du Manichéisme au Néoplatonisme*, Paris, 1918. (A work to be consulted.)

— *Les Écritures Manichéennes.* 2 vols. Paris, 1918, 1919. (Scholarly and valuable.)



- Andreas, F. C.** See below, Festschrift. His valuable translations of some Manichaeian texts, which are not yet available, are quoted in the works of Reitzenstein and by Waldschmidt and Lentz, as remarked below.
- Augustine, St.** References are made to Migne's *Patrologia Latina* as follows: *De Moribus Manichaeorum*, in *PL.* 32. 1345-1378; *Contra Epistolam Manichaei*, in *PL.* 42. 172-206; *Contra Faustum*, in *PL.* 42. 207-518; *Contra Secundinum*, in *PL.* 42. 571-602; *De Natura Boni*, in *PL.* 42. 551-571; *De Haeresibus*, in *PL.* 42. 34-38.
- Bang, W.** Manichaeische Miniaturen, in *Muséon* (1924), 37. 109-115, Louvain, Belgium. (Very commendatory notice of Le Coq's *Manichäische Miniaturen*, with a few added philological interpretations.)
- Manichaeische Hymnen, in *Muséon*, 38. 1-55, Louvain, 1925. (Two Turkish hymns (after Le Coq), with transliterated text, translation, and annotations.)
- Turkologische Briefe aus dem Berliner Institute. In *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, vol. 5, parts 1 and 2, Berlin, 1925. (The 'Erster Brief,' p. 41-48, deals chiefly with word *κελεφος* in the *Acta Archelai*=*kelepen*, 'leprous,' of the *Codex Cumanicus*. In the 'Zweiter Brief,' p. 231-251, among other words, the term *uzuntönlü* in Turkish Manichaeian texts is explained as referring particularly to women.)
- 'Aus Manis Briefen.' Reprint from *Forschungsarbeiten der Mitglieder des Ungarischen Instituts in Berlin, dem Andenken Robert Graggers gewidmet*, p. 1-4, Berlin, 1927. (Gives two excerpts, cited as from Mānī's letters, which are found in the Greek *Florilegium*.)
- and A. von Gabain. Türkische Turfan Texte, in *Sitzb. d. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1929, No. 15, p. 241-268, with 4 Plates, Berlin, 1929. (A fragmentary text of an Eastern Asiatic book of omens and lots in Turkish, transliterated and translated with notes. These 32 Fragments have little bearing upon Manichaeism, except as showing that the observation of signs and omens may have been current in Eastern or Chinese Turkistan. In the notes some Turkish Manichaeian words are dealt with.)

- Bartholomae, C.** Altiranisches Wörterbuch. Strassburg, 1904. (The standard lexicon for Avestan and Old Persian.)
- Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch: Nacharbeiten und Vorarbeiten. Beiheft zum XIX. Band der 'Indogermanischen Forschungen,' Strassburg, 1906. (Frequently referred to concerning the etymology of words in Turfan Pahlavi, Book Pahlavi, etc.)
- Other valuable monographs by Bartholomae, such as *Zum sasanidischen Recht*, I–V, and *Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten*, I–VI, which appeared in the *Sitzb. der Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss.*, Heidelberg, 1910–1925, will be found cited elsewhere with full references in the course of this volume.
- Baur, F. C.** Das manichäische Religionssystem, Tübingen, 1831. (Important enough to be reproduced by a photo-mechanical process, Göttingen, 1928.)
- Beausobre, Isaac de.** Histoire critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1734, 1739. (A remarkable work for its time, and still to be consulted for information.)
- Bevan, A. A.** Article 'Manichaeism,' in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (q.v.), 8. 394–402, Edinburgh, 1916. (Assuredly to be consulted.)
- Bisson, T. A.** Some Records of the Manichaeans in China, in *The Chinese Recorder*, July, 1929, p. 1–16. (A comprehensive and useful sketch.)
- Bousset, W.** Hauptprobleme der Gnosis. In *Forschungen zur Religion des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, hrsg. von W. Bousset und H. Gunkel, Heft 10, Göttingen, 1907. (Of value in connection with Gnostic elements recognizable in Manichaeism.)
- Manichäisches in den Thomasakten. In *Zeitschrift f. neutest. Wiss.* (1917), 18. 1ff.
- Browne, E. G.** A Literary History of Persia, I. 154–166, London, 1902. (Gives a short sketch of Manichaeism, written before the discovery of the Turfan Fragments.)
- Burkitt, F. C.** The Religion of the Manichees, Cambridge, 1925. (See the commendation below in Study VIII, n. 7, p. 223.)
- Chavannes, Éd.** See above (List A) under Chavannes and Pelliot.

- Christensen, A.** Le premier homme et le premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens. In *Archives d'études orientales*, 14. 1-220, Stockholm, 1918.
- Cumont, F.** Recherches sur le manichéisme, I. La cosmogonie manichéenne d'après Théodore bar Khôni, p. 1-80, Brussels, 1908. (It has additional matter by M.-A. Kugener, besides the author's own notes. This excellent monograph is constantly cited below, in Studies II and VIII. For Recherches II, III, see under Kugener and Cumont.)
- Adamas, génie manichéen. In *Philologie et Linguistique. Mélanges offerts à Louis Havet*, p. 77-82, Paris, 1909.
- Darmesteter, J.** Études Iraniennes. 2 vols. Paris, 1883.
- Dēnkart.** On the 'Injunctions of Mānī' (Dk. 3. 200). See ed. Peshotan Dastur Behramjee Sanjana, vol. 5, p. 242-244, Bombay, 1888; also ed. Dh. M. Madan, vol. 1, p. 216-218, Bombay, 1911.
- Dhalla, M. N.** Zoroastrian Theology from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, New York, 1914. (Manichaeism is briefly treated as a heresy, p. 210-218.)
- Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.** Edited by J. Hastings, with the assistance of J. A. Selbie and L. H. Gray. 12 vols. Edinburgh, 1908-1922. (See especially article 'Manichaeism,' by A. A. Bevan, cited above.)
- Ephraim Syrus.** Prose Refutations, ed. and transl. by C. W. Mitchell, vol. 1, London, 1912; vol. 2, †C. W. Mitchell, A. A. Bevan, and F. C. Burkitt, London, 1921.
- Epiphanius.** Contra Haereses, or Panarios, in Migne, *PG.* vol. 42.
- Festschrift Friedrich C. Andreas.** Zur Vollendung des siebenzigsten Lebensjahres am 14 April, 1916. Leipzig, 1916.
- Fihrist.** See below under Flügel.
- Flügel, G.** Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Aus dem Fihrist des . . . an-Nadīm, im Text nebst Uebersetzung, Commentar und Index, zum ersten Mal herausgegeben, Leipzig, 1862. (A standard work of its time and still constantly referred to, as the citations below will show.)
- Flügel, G., Roediger, J., and Müller, A., ed.** Kitāb al-Fihrist. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1871, 1872. (Complete edition.)

- Gray, L. H.** Foundations of the Iranian Religions: Katrak Lectures delivered at the University of Oxford in 1925, Bombay, 1929. *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 15. (A most scholarly work.)
- Greek Formula of Abjuration.** See Kessler, *Mani*, p. 358-365 (translation), p. 403-405 (Greek text).  
— Consult also Migne, *PG.* 1. 1461-1472.
- Gressmann, H.** Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930. (Pages 157-177 deal with Manichaeism.)
- Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.** Edited by W. Geiger\* and E. Kuhn, 2 vols. Strassburg, 1895-1904.
- Harnack, A. von.** Article 'Manichaeism' in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., Edinburgh, 1883, vol. 15, p. 481-487. (Still valuable, even though long antedating the Turfan discoveries.)  
— Der Manichäismus, in *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 4th ed., Tübingen, 1909, vol. 2, p. 513-527.  
— Article 'Manichaeism' (signed also by F. C. Conybeare), in *Encyclop. Brit.* 11th ed., Cambridge and New York, 1911, vol. 17, p. 572-578. (Shortened and somewhat changed from the earlier article but makes some use of the Turfan Fragments.)
- Hegemonius.** Acta Archelai, ed. C. H. Beeson, Leipzig, 1906. (Standard edition and often cited.)
- Horn, P.** Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie. In *Sammlung Indogermanischer Wörterbücher*, IV. Strassburg, 1893. (Cited frequently, although long antedating the Turfan Pahlavi discoveries.)
- Hübschmann, H.** Persische Studien, Strassburg, 1895. (Often referred to for Persian etymologies, although published long before the Turfan discoveries were made.)
- Jackson, A. V. W.** Source of the Albigenian Heresy. In *An Outline of Christianity*, 2. 271-282, New York, 1926. (Cf. in part Study I, below.)  
— On the Manichaean word *nōxwīr* in Turfan Pahlavi. In *JAOS.* (1927) 47. 193-197.  
— Zoroastrian Studies: The Iranian Religion and Various Monographs, New York, 1928. (Cf. especially the 'Addendum on Manichaeism', p. 187-193.)

- On Turfan Pahlavi *miyazdagtāčih*, as designating a Manichaean ceremonial offering. In *JAOS*. (1929) 49. 34-39.
- The term *ročvarmh* in a Turkish Manichaean Fragment. In *Language*, 5. 97-99.
- Three Indo-Iranian Notes. In *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, p. 255-258.
- A sketch of the Manichaean Doctrine concerning the Future Life. In *JAOS*. (1930) 50. 177-198.
- Other special articles on Manichaeism are reprinted in Studies VII, X, and XIII below.
- Jāmāsp-Āsānā, H. D. J.** See below under Shikand-Gūmānīg Vizhār.
- Kessler, K.** Mani. Forschungen über die manichäische Religion, Bd. I, Berlin, 1889. (Frequently cited.)
- Article 'Mani,' in Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyklop. f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche*, 3d ed., Leipzig, 1903, vol. 12, p. 193-228.
- Khoni.** See under Theodore bar Khoni.
- Kugener, M.-A., and Franz Cumont.** Recherches sur le Manichéisme II. Extrait de la CXXIII<sup>e</sup> Homélie de Sévère d'Antioche. III. L'Inscription de Salone, p. 83-177, Brussels, 1912. (Cf. also above, under Cumont.)
- Le Coq, A. von.** Ein Manichäisches Buch-Fragment aus Chotscho. (Mit einer Tafel.) In *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen*, p. 145-154, Leipzig, 1912.
- Manichäische Miniaturen. In vol. 2 of A. von Le Coq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, Berlin, 1923. (Besides the art material in this second volume of a series of six large quartos devoted to the discoveries made by the Prussian expeditions to the Oasis of Turfan, it contains two or three Manichaean Fragments, in transliteration or reproduced, which were not previously available. Cf. p. 40, 53-56, and Plates 4, 8a.)
- Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan. An account of the activities and adventures of the Second and Third German Turfan Expeditions. London, 1928.
- For Le Coq's editions and translations of Turkish Manichaean texts see List A, above.

- Legge, F.** Manes and the Manichaeans, in *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2nd vol. p. 277-357, Cambridge, 1915. (Useful and suggestive.)
- Lentz, W.** Mani und Zarathustra. In *ZDMG.* (1928) 82. 179-206. (To be consulted.)
- Lindquist, Sig.** Manikeismens religionshistoriska ställning. Dissertation, 132 pp., Upsala, 1921. (An excellent short presentation of the history of Manichaeism in the east and in the west.)
- Müller, F. W. K.** Uigurica I: 1. Die Anbetung der Magier, ein christliches Bruchstück. 2. Die Reste des buddhistischen "Goldglanz-sūtra." Ein vorläufiger Bericht. In *Abhandl. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1908. (The 'Anhang,' p. 46-53, treats of certain technical words denoting 'fasting, festival, etc.' in Manichaeism.)
- Soghdische Texte. I. In *Abh. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 1912, Berlin, 1913.
- Der Hofstaat eines Uiguren-Königs. In *Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen*, p. 207-213, Leipzig, 1912. (Gives the text of a short Turfan Pahlavi Fragment in transliteration, with translation and notes.)
- For Müller's other invaluable works see above, List A.
- Nyberg, H. S.**, in *Le Monde oriental* (1923), 17. 80-96. (Review of Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*.)
- Ein Hymnus auf Zervān im Bundahišn, in *ZDMG.* (1928) 82. 216-235.
- Pelliot, P.** See especially above, List A, under Chavannes and Pelliot. Also numerous important articles relating to Manichaeism in the Sinological journal *T'oung Pao* (1908-).
- Petersen, Erik.** Jesus bei den Manichäern. In *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 53. Jahrg. Nr. 11, May 26, 1928, Leipzig, 1928. (With special reference to Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*.)
- Pognon, H.** Inscriptions mandaïtes des coupes de Khouabir, Paris, 1898. Pages 127-131; 184-193 contain the text and translation of Theodore bar Khoni's section on Manichaeism, cf. below, Study VIII, p. 221.
- Radloff, W.** Chuastuanit, das Bussgebet der Manichäer, St.

Petersburg, August, 1909. Also printed separately by Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1909. (Pioneer study of this since well-known Manichaean Confession Prayer in Turkish.)

**Reitzenstein, R.** Die Göttin Psyche in der hellenistischen und frühchristlichen Literatur. In *Sitzb. d. Heidelberger Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Heidelberg, 1917, phil.-hist. Klasse, No. 10 Abhandl., p. 1-111. (Besides other valuable matter, this monograph contains a translation by Andreas of a Turfan Manichaean Fragment (M. 583) in Soghdian, the text still awaiting publication.)

— Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse und die Evangelienüberlieferung. In *Sitzb. d. Heidelberger Ak. d. Wiss.*, Heidelberg, 1919, phil.-hist. Klasse, No. 12 Abhandl., p. 1-98. (Important researches. Cf. preceding entry. Translations by Andreas from Turfan Manichaean texts (M. 2, M. 10, T. II. D. 178, M. 473), p. 26-27, 46-47, 48, 50-52.)

— Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, 2 ed. Bonn, 1920.

— Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium, Bonn, 1921.

— Mani und Zarathustra, in *Nachrichten d. Götting. Gesell. Wiss.*, 1922, phil.-hist. Kl., p. 249-260.

— Gedanken zur Entwicklung des Erlöserglaubens, in *Hist. Zeitschrift*, 126. 1-57.

— Weltuntergangsvorstellungen. Eine Studie zur vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte, in *Kyrkohistoriska Årsskrift*, Upsala, 1924, p. 129-212. (To be included later in connection with the Manichaean Doctrine of the Future Life and the End of the World.)

— See also with Schaeder, below.

— und **H. H. Schaeder.** Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland. Leipzig and Berlin, 1926. Teil I. Griechische Lehren, von R. Reitzenstein; Teil II. Iranische Lehren, von H. H. Schaeder. (Important; cited as *Studien*.)

**Rochat, E.** Essai sur Mani et sa doctrine. Thesis. Geneva, 1897. (Serviceable small book for its time, especially concerning the Acta Archelai.)

**Sachau, C. E.** Albirūnī's Chronology of Ancient Nations, translated, London, 1879.

- Schaeder, H. H.** (See above, Reitzenstein, R.) Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland; Leipzig and Berlin, 1926. Teil II. Iranische Lehren. (Constantly referred to, and cited as *Studien*. Contains also a translation of the Theodore bar Khoni passage.)
- Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems. In Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg IV. Leipzig, 1927. (Valuable; cited as *Urform*.)
- Scheftelowitz, I.** Die Entstehung der manichäischen Religion, Giessen, 1922. (Referred to frequently.)
- Is Manicheism an Iranic Religion? Part I. In *Asia Major* (1924) 1. 460-490.
- Neues Material über die manichäische Urseele und die Entstehung des Zarvanismus. In *Zt. f. Ind. u. Iran.* (1926), 4. 317-344. (Should be consulted.)
- Iranische Etymologien. In *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes* (1927), 34. 216-229. (Besides discussing the etymology of numerous Av., OP., and NP. words this article treats also the derivation of several TPhl. words.)
- Die manichäische Zarathustra-Hymne M 7, herausgegeben, neu übersetzt, untersucht und durch ein weiteres Hymnenbruchstück ergänzt. In *Oriens Christianus*, Dritte Serie 1. p. 261-283, Leipzig, 1927. (Makes available in Hebrew transliteration, and with German translation, the text of three Manichaeen Fragments.)
- Shahrastāni.** Kitāb al-milal wa'l-nihāl. Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects, ed. Cureton, London, 1846; German transl. *Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, Th. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850, 1851.
- Sharenkoff, V. N.** A Study of Manichaeism in Bulgaria with special reference to the Bogomils, New York, 1927, containing also a bibliography. (Printed by Carranza and Company, N. Y. City.)
- Shikand-Gūmānīg Vīzhār (Škand-Vimānīk Vičār).** The Pāzand-Sanskrit Text, together with a Fragment of the Pahlavi, edited by Hōshang Dastūr Jāmāspji Jāmāsp-Āsānā and E. W. West, Bombay, 1887.
- See also the Sanskrit version printed later by Ervad S. D.



- Bharucha, Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis, Part IV, Skanda-Gumānī-Gujāra, Bombay, 1913.
- See furthermore, the special translations, etc. referred to below in Study VI, p. 174-175 f.; also the translation by Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück*, above in List A.
- Spiegel, F. *Erānische Alterthumskunde*, 2. 195-232, Leipzig, 1873. (A section devoted to Mānī and Manichaeism.)
- Stein, Sir Aurel. *Ruins of Desert Cathay. Personal Narrative of Explorations in Central-Asia and Westernmost China*, vols. I-II, London, 1912.
- *Serindia. Detailed Report of Explorations in Central-Asia and Westernmost China*, vols. I-III text; vol. IV plates; vol. V maps, Oxford, 1921.
- Steingass, F. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London, 1892. (A re-issue appeared in January, 1930.)
- Stoop, E. de. *La Diffusion du manichéisme dans l'empire romain*, Ghent, 1909. (Comprehensive for the spread of Manichaeism westward.)
- Sykes, Sir Percy. *A History of Persia*. 2 vols. 3 ed. London, 1930.
- Theodore bar Khoni. See under Cumont and Pognon, also Study VIII, p. 221 below.
- Theodoret. *Haeret. Fab. Compendium*, in Migne, *PG.* vol. 83, 335-556.
- Titus of Bostra. *Contra Manichaeos*. Greek text, ed. P. de Lagarde, Berlin, 1859.
- Troje, Luise. *Die Dreizehn und die Zwölf im Traktat Pelliot (Dogmen in Zahlenformeln). Ein Beitrag zu den Grundlagen des Manichäismus*, Leipzig, 1925. (Discussion of the bearings of these numbers in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise.)
- Waldschmidt, E. and Lentz, W. See above, in List A.
- Wesendonk, O. G. von. *Die Lehre des Mani*, p. 1-86, Leipzig, 1922. (Clear and comprehensive presentation.)
- *Urmensch und Seele in der iranischen Überlieferung*. Hanover, 1924. (Certainly to be consulted.)
- *Zum Ursprung des Manichaeismus*, in *Ephemerides Orientales von Otto Harrassowitz*, No. 30, p. 1-19, Leipzig, 1926. (Concise and suggestive.)

**West, E. W.** See above under Shikand-Gūmānīg Vizhār.

— Translation by E. W. W. of this work entire, in *The Sacred Books of the East*, 24. 115-251, Oxford, 1885.

— and **Haug, M.** Glossary and Index of the Pahlavi Book of Arda Viraf, etc. Bombay and London, 1874.

**Wetter, G. P.** Phos (𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬌). Eine Untersuchung über hellenistische Frömmigkeit, zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Manichäismus, Upsala, 1915.

#### C. GLOSSARIAL AIDS ON TURFAN AND BOOK PAHLAVI

(Arranged chronologically as to authors)

*a.* For a pioneer Glossary of the first-published T P h l . F r a g - m e n t s see above (p. xxv), C. Salemann, *Manichaeische Studien I*, and *Manichaica III-IV*.

*b.* Concerning B o o k P a h l a v i lexical and glossarial works reference may be made directly above (p. xxxvi) to West and Haug, *Glossary and Index of the Pahlavi Book Arda Viraf*. Consult likewise the following books in addition:

**Reichelt, H.** Der Frahang i oīm. I Theil: Einleitung und Text. In *WZKM.* (1900), 14. p. 197-213.—II Theil: Index der Awestawörter, *ibid.* (1900), 15. p. 117-186.

**Junker, H. F. J.** The Frahang i Pahavik, Heidelberg, 1912.

**Unvala, J. M.** Neriosengh's Sanskrit Version of the Hōm Yasht (Yasn IX-XI), with the original Avesta and its Pahlavi Version. Translated with copious Notes and a glossarial Index. Vienna, 1924.

## NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION AND PRONUNCIATION

In the matter of *t r a n s l i t e r a t i o n* I have retained the system previously followed in this Series (see vol. 12, p. xxxii) as regards the scientific transcription of Avestan, Old Persian, Book Pahlavi, Turfan Pahlavi, Pāzand, Modern Persian, and Sanskrit. It is substantially the same as adopted by other scholars. In instances where some scholar may differ slightly in his method of representing certain letters I have generally indicated this by enclosing the special word or clause in single quotes (' ').

In the Turfan Pahlavi texts, whenever the letter *v* (*ū*) corresponds philologically to *ō* (*a u*) I have transliterated it by *ō*, thus TPhl. *tōhm*, *tōxm*, Av. *taoxman-*, 'seed, family'; similarly *y* (*ē*) in TPhl. *dēm*, Av. *daēman-*, 'eye' (face). Otherwise *ū* or *ī*, respectively, has been employed. Occasional instances of the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel are found in the TPhl. texts; a raised vowel (*ē̄ ē̄̄ ē̄̄̄*) is generally used to indicate this fact, for example, *dašn̄zādagā'n*, 'sons of the right hand.'

Regarding *p r o n u n c i a t i o n* there is no occasion to enter into that matter here, so far as specialists are concerned, but the few hints that follow may be of some service to the non-specialist.

For the pronunciation of Avestan and the related languages, the general reader is referred to the work mentioned above (vol. 12, p. xxxii-xxxiii—repeated here in part). In Turfan Pahlavi, with which we are chiefly concerned as a Middle Persian Language, the vowels *a*, *i*, *u* have in general the Italian value; their corresponding long vowels and derivatives, *ā*, *ī*, *ū* and *ē*, *ō* may be sounded as in 'father,' 'machine,' 'rule,' and 'they,' 'note.' It should be observed, however, that in the transcription of Pahlavi the sign of length, *ˉ*, is conventionally used to indicate that the vowel character is written in the original text, and does not necessarily imply (except in the case of *ā*) that the

vowel so marked is to be pronounced as long. Thus *qērd*, *pīd*, *pūs*, are pronounced *qērd*, *pīd*, *pūs*.

Concerning the c o n s o n a n t s some further remarks may be appropriate. Observe that the palatals, designated as *č* and *ǰ*, are to be sounded as in 'church' and 'judge.' The sibilant *s* is always sharp, like 'sister,' and the plain *z* (voiced) may be given practically as in 'zebra.' The letter *š* (voiceless) is to be pronounced like English *sh* in 'sheepish'; similarly *ž* answers to the voiced *zh*-spirant sound of *z* in 'azure' or the initial consonant in French 'jour.' The consonants *b*, *d*, *g* (although often spirants) are generally transcribed in this manner and may, for simple convenience, be thus pronounced. The other spirants, however, deserve further comment. The letter *x*, as now generally adopted, has the voiceless spirant *kh*-sound to be heard in German 'ach,' or the Scottish 'loch.' In a similar way *xv*, a composite of the spirant *x* and *v*, is to be sounded as a roughened *khv*, somewhat like an exaggerated 'what.' The spirant *f*-sound, frequent in Iranian, is sometimes represented in the Turfan Fragments by the letter *p* without the diacritical point normally employed, and the conventional transliteration as *p* has been followed in such cases.

In transliterating Soghdian words, which are sometimes cited, the other spirants, as in Avestan (*op. cit.* p. xxxiii end), are represented by Greek letters, namely *θ* for the voiceless *th*-sound in English 'thin'; *δ* for the corresponding voiced dental sound, as in 'breathe'; *γ* for a roughened *gh*-sound, as in North-German 'Tage,' and also in Dutch; *β* for the voiced labial spirant (Avestan *w*), somewhat like English *v*.

PART I  
A BRIEF SKETCH OF MANICHAËISM  
AND ITS HISTORY



## STUDY I. INTRODUCTION

### A BRIEF SKETCH OF MANICHAISM AND ITS HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

Manichaeism, the first and most important of the two schismatic movements in Zoroastrianism (the other, Mazdakism, being considerably later), arose early in the third Christian century within the Persian Empire. It was there combated and execrated as violently by orthodox Zoroastrianism as it was by orthodox Christianity when it spread westward into the imperial domains of Rome. Mānī endeavored, by making a synthesis of elements from various existing religions, to form a new religion, eclectic in character and inspired by the fervor of his own idealistic enthusiasm, one that should not be confined by national borders but be universally adopted. In other words, Mānī's aspiration was to bring the world, Orient and Occident, into closer union through a combined faith, based upon the creeds known in his day.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This brief outline is not intended for the specialist but for the general reader who may possibly wish to have in concise form the main features of Manichaeism and its history. In compiling the sketch I have had permission to draw freely from two articles which I had printed elsewhere. One of these was the addendum on Manichaeism in my volume of *Zoroastrian Studies*, p. 187-193, published by the Columbia University Press in 1928; the other, especially with reference to Manichaeism and Christianity, was a chapter, entitled 'Source of the Albigensian Heresy,' which I contributed to the second volume of *An Outline of Christianity* (2.271-282) that was issued in New York, 1926, by the Bethlehem Publishers, Inc., Dodd, Mead and Company, Distributors. Grateful acknowledgment of these courtesies is here made and the indebtedness is further recorded in the footnotes.

<sup>2</sup> Jackson, *Zor. Studies*, p. 187-188.

There has been an unusual revival of interest in Manichaeism owing to the discovery, early in the present century, of actual Manichaean documents found amid sand-buried ruins in the Oasis of Turfān, in Eastern or Chinese Turkistān, which have thrown unsuspected new light on the whole subject.<sup>3</sup> These finds included fragments of Mānī's long-

<sup>3</sup> The main credit for the discoveries belongs to the three Prussian expeditions from Berlin to the Turfān region in Central Asia, beginning with Grünwedel and Huth in 1902-1903, then carried on by the very noted Turkologist Le Coq in 1904, and culminating in the searches made again by Le Coq and Grünwedel (particularly the former) in 1905-1907, all of which resulted in bringing back to Berlin a veritable treasure trove of Manichaean Fragments. The Russians had been already on the field but did not grasp until later, when the German finds were made available, what their own more limited collection at that time contained. In 1907 the eminent Indologist Sir Aurel Stein brought back to the British Museum a long Chinese Manichaean roll, published considerably later (1926) by Waldschmidt and Lentz, two young German specialists in Chinese and Iranian. France followed in 1908 with her brilliant, then youthful, Sinologist Pelliot, who brought back among other documents from Chinese Turkistān a long Chinese Manichaean Treatise (not quite complete) which he duly translated and annotated in collaboration with Chavannes. All this search in the Central Asian deserts of shifting sands had, in the interim, been enormously stimulated through the discovery of the key which opened the treasure house of the Iranian and Turkish documents as Manichaean. This important achievement was made in 1904 by the learned F. W. K. Müller, as recorded in the following paragraph.

That honor of deciphering and first interpreting these fragmentary texts as documents of Mānī's religion will always be connected with F. W. K. Müller's name since the day, February 11, 1904, when his epoch-making communication (only five pages) was laid before the Berlin Academy. It was immediately printed in *Sitzb. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1904 (February), and opened a new era in the study of Manichaeism. It was followed in the same year by his masterly transcription and translation of a body of the Middle Persian texts involved ('Handschriften-reste') in the *Abhandlungen* of the Berlin Academy, 1904, with others to follow. Translations and elucidations of additional Iranian, Turkish and Chinese Manichaean



lost Bible and considerable portions of a once extensive Manichæan literature, written in Middle Persian (Pahlavi), Soghdian, Old Turkish, and even Chinese, particularly since they were discovered in Eastern, or Chinese, Turkistān. Up to that time our knowledge of Mānī's endeavor to form a world religion had been derived largely from the polemical writings against his creed by the Church Fathers, especially Augustine, who himself for nine years had been a Manichæan before adopting Christianity. The accounts of Muhammadan writers and the references made by some late Zoroastrian controversialists are valuable secondary sources from the Oriental side. The newly made finds now provide us with actual Manichæan texts, mostly in fragmentary form but sometimes in the shape of longer connected documents, so that we can combine and compare them as direct sources with the material previously known and thus obtain a more exact view of Mānī's life and teachings.<sup>4</sup> We now clearly know that Manichæism was not only an offshoot of Zoroastrianism, in a way, and the parent of various heretical movements in Christianity, but was also a factor for centuries in the religious life of Central and Eastern Asia.

The chief points of the life history of Mānī may here be given in brief. Mānī was a Persian by blood. His father, well born, was a native of Hamadān. His mother came of the royal stock of the Parthian Arsacids. The father, a religious eclectic, removed from Hamadān to Babylonia, texts by German, French, and Russian specialists (the Russians Salemann and Radloff in particular) came soon after. Meanwhile the mass of interpretative literature concerning Manichæism has grown to large proportions as the partial Bibliography above (p. xxiv) will show.

[It is sad to make an addition here in the proofsheets as it passes through the press, that both Le Coq and Müller died within a short time of each other in the first part of 1930, Le Coq on April 21 and Müller on April 18. Two great Manichæan scholars lost!]

<sup>4</sup> Jackson, *Source*, p. 272-273.

which was at that time, as earlier, a part of the Parthian Empire. Mānī was born in a village, called Mardīnū, near the site of the modern city of Baghdād, in (215 or) 216 A.D. He was accorded a spiritual vision in his early youth and when about twenty years of age, inspired by divine revelation, he came forward as a prophet; the date of his first appearance in public was on the coronation day of the Sasanian King Shāhpuhr (Sapor) I, which is usually reckoned to have been March 20, 242 A.D. Although his preaching seems to have met with favor for a time in Persia, the growing opposition of the Zoroastrian priests to this 'fiend incarnate' (or better translated, 'crippled devil,' since he appears to have been lame) led Shāhpuhr some years later to banish Mānī from the Persian realm. During the long period of exile that followed (certainly more than twenty years) he is said to have preached his doctrines in the region of Northern India, Tibet, Chinese Turkistān and Khurāsān, undoubtedly absorbing ideas himself wherever he went. He ventured at last to return to Persia, meeting with royal consideration during the brief reign of Ormazd (Hurmizd) I (272-273); but shortly afterward, owing to priestly intrigues at the court, Mānī was put to death by the latter monarch's successor Bahrām I, early in the year (273 or) 274 A.D. The manner of his death was horrible. He was flayed alive, and the body then decapitated, while his skin was stuffed with straw and hung up at the royal gate as a warning to future heretics. Cruel persecution of his adherents immediately followed his martyrdom, but this did not hinder the rapid spread of Mānī's faith.<sup>5</sup> Though banned from Persia, Manichaeism was soon disseminated westward to the extreme confines of the Roman Empire and eastward through Central Asia, reaching ultimately as far as China where, though it was always sporadic, there are definite traces of it as late as the seventeenth century.

<sup>5</sup> Jn. Zor. *Studies*, p. 188-189.

The religion of Mānī, as noted above, was distinctly and designedly a synthesis. Among his spiritual predecessors he especially acknowledged Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus as pioneer revealers of the truth which he came to fulfil. He accounted Zoroaster's dualistic doctrine of the fundamental struggle between light and darkness, soul and matter, to be at basis the solution of the problem of good and evil. He found in the teachings of the gentle Buddha certain lessons for the conduct of life to be accepted everywhere by mankind. He recognized in Jesus a verified ideal and claimed to be the Paraclete promised by Christ and for whom the world was seeking. Ideas such as these he supplemented by Indian and especially Buddhistic traits, combined with old Babylonian beliefs that survived among the Mandaeans along the lower reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates, together with marked Hellenistic Gnostic features, all of which were current in the atmosphere of his time.<sup>6</sup> This eclectic character of Mānī's religion, and the coloring by the faiths with which he came in contact, made the new creed easier of adoption, and his followers were later able, if necessary, to pass themselves off as a sect of one or other of the religious communities among which they spread their Master's teachings. In the West, for example, the Christian elements tended to be more strongly emphasized, in the East certain Buddhistic elements came perhaps more to the front, but at the basis of Mānī's conception of the universe lay the old-time Persian doctrine of dualism, taught centuries earlier by Zoroaster, but amplified, modified, and above all spiritualized by Mānī.

Like Zoroaster, he postulated the existence of Two Principles from the beginning to eternity. To Mānī, Light was synonymous with spirit and good, Darkness with matter and evil. This was a fundamental tenet of the faith. As a second cardinal doctrine, he recognized three Ages in

<sup>6</sup> For bibliographical references, see *Jn. Zor. Stud.*, p. 190, n. 41, 42.

the history of beginningless and endless time; they are called 'The Three Times,' that is, the primordial, intermediate, and final. In the first age, before this visible world came into existence, the Two Principles were wholly separate, Light above, Darkness below; in the second, the present age, they became commingled in a universal conflict; in the third dispensation, which is to come, they will be separated once more through the triumph of Light and the relegation of Darkness to its dismal abode forever.<sup>7</sup>

Mānī's speculations regarding the primordial status of the universe were highly imaginative. The two Principles of Light and Darkness constituted two totally opposing realms, each existing from eternity and each presided over by a sovereign ruler. The domain of Light extended infinitely upward, that of Darkness infinitely downward. Each was independent and separate, but they were contiguous to one another over a surface of infinite expanse in all lateral directions, which was styled the 'Border.' In the luminous domain, exalted above its lowest bright region, called the 'Light Earth,' and the intermediate region, 'Light Air,' there reigned in serenity 'the Good Ruler of the Realm of Light' in his four aspects as Deity, Light, Power, and Wisdom. Zarvān, or Time Eternal, he was called by Mānī, although other titles also were given him to denote both his majesty and his nature as the Father God of Light. His splendor was shared by his fivefold Realms, or Aeons, and by twelve personified abstractions, Majesties or Sovereignties, all of which were transcendently either members of his spiritual being or one with him in mystic union. Countless celestial forms, as minor divinities, angels, and spirits, likewise thronged the luminous domain, but all were manifestations of the Supreme Light.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Jn. *Source*, p. 273 ff.

<sup>8</sup> This will become clear in connection with numerous passages cited and translated below from the Manichaean documents, as well as from the non-Manichaean sources.

The Realm of Darkness, synonymous with its own Principle, was conceived of as evil and as material in its essence. From the very nature of its dark Principle there came into being an Overlord, a diabolical figure corresponding to the Persian Ahriman, and often so called in the Manichæan Pahlavi texts, together with myriads of demons that filled the nether domain in wild confusion. Out of the prevailing tumult and disorder came to pass the first disturbance in the static condition of the universe. The powers of Darkness broke upward through the dividing expanse, upon whose surface the two realms touched, and invaded the domain of Light. The fateful conflict began; the first age was at an end, and the second age, with its direful struggle and momentous events, was ushered in.

To repel the onslaught of Darkness the Godhead, or Father of Light and Greatness, called two spiritual agents into being; 'evoked' (not generated) is the true Manichæan word for this act, since Mānī never employed any term that would imply the idea of sexual generation in the transcendental Realm of Light. By this first evocation the Mother of Life and then Primal Man were summoned into existence. Primal Man was not Adam but a celestial prototype to foreshadow him. Armed with the five original elements of the Light Realm in their ethereal form, which he himself had evoked as his sons and panoply, this protagonist was sent to do battle against the powers of Darkness. At first their superior forces overwhelmed him, 'swallowing' a part of his armor of Light and leaving him worsted and senseless as a result of the initial fray.

Thereupon the Father called forth, as a second evocation, three other luminous agents, the third of these figures in Manichæism being particularly well known as the Spiritus Vivens or Living Spirit. The second, the Great Architect, was the designer of the future Paradise, but not a participant in the rescue of Primal Man. The first, or Friend of

Light, was a helpful pioneer in the rescue. He led the way and loosened the captive from the bonds of Darkness, while the Living Spirit joined with the Mother of Life in bringing back the imprisoned one to the celestial heights.<sup>9</sup> But the light which Primal Man had lost in the battle had become mixed with darkness, through being devoured by the demoniacal powers. To effect the release of these robbed and imprisoned luminous elements the Father, acting through his previously evoked agents, caused the visible world, the macrocosm, to be created through a highly complicated process.

Mānī's fancy sought to depict this process of formation in terms of an elaborate cosmogony. The Living Spirit, as demiurge (creator) or active agent, assisted by his five sons whom he himself had in turn 'evoked,' served as the one above all divinely delegated to bring this to pass. The Mother of Life also joined in the task.<sup>10</sup> The Archons, or Regents of Darkness, were seized, chained, and flayed. Ten heavens were made of their outstretched skins which overspread the firmament. Eight earths were constructed from their huge carcasses, while the sun and the moon were composed out of the purest substances of light won back from them. The stars were formed from the sparkling particles that still remained. All these celestial bodies were set in motion to aid in extracting the lost light that was mixed in darkness. The sun and the moon functioned permanently in this process, the Milky Way and the constellations of the Zodiac likewise actively participated. Then the three 'wheels' of the wind, fire, and water were made, and set in motion.

The Supreme Being (Father of Light) now had recourse to

<sup>9</sup> For an article on the members of the second evocation, see Jackson, in *JRAS. Cent. Suppl.* (1924), p. 137-155, reprinted below, p. (271 f.).

<sup>10</sup> For the Mother of Life in this connection, see Theodore bar Khoni (or Konai), transl. below p. 234 f., and likewise the Chinese Manichaeon Treatise, transl. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911<sup>2</sup>, p. 515-519.

a third evocation, the Third Messenger, who embodied certain traits of the ancient Persian sun-god, Mithra. By a weird conceit, his radiant figure was represented in one aspect as assuming a bi-sexual form, the beauty of which seduced the male and female Archons alike. The seed of the former fell as rain upon the earth, from which vegetable life sprang up; abortive forms cast by the self-pregnant females gave rise to animals. It is no wonder that the Church Fathers anathematized these fabulous stories of Mānī as obscene. Yet each of these two classes of inanimate and animate creations contained elements of the imprisoned light, the plants above all.

In the production of the human species the demoniacal forces played not an involuntary part but an active role of their own wicked designing, the creation of the two sexes being especially the work of the Evil One. His fiendish aim was by this means to incarcerate the light perpetually in the bonds of the carnal body. Mankind, the microcosm, was made by the Dark Powers as an exact reproduction of the double nature of the macrocosm, or physical universe, according to Mānī's teachings, though man, despite his origin, was similarly subject to a process whereby the luminous portions of his being should be released. Our first parents were demon-born, offspring of the execrated union of the Arch-Fiend and his mate. In Adam, however, the luminous particles predominated, while Eve was composed wholly of dark elements. A fantastic distortion of the Biblical narrative, mixed up with other sources, recounts the story of the fall of man and of the early succeeding generations of the human family, for the purpose of showing the evil of fleshly intercourse and the begetting of children.<sup>11</sup> Only through a life of renunciation, ascetic in its rigor, are

<sup>11</sup> For these accounts see an-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, tr. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 90-93; Theodore bar Khoni's *Scholia*, tr. below, p. 249; and compare the Chinese Manichaean Treatise, tr. Chavannes and Pelliot, *J.A.* 1911, p. 523-527.

perfection and redemption to be obtained. Divinely inspired messengers (such as Zoroaster and Buddha) have pointed out the way in part. Jesus is recognized by Mānī as his own direct predecessor.

To Mānī, the true Jesus was the 'Luminous Jesus,' the first member of a triad, apparently called forth in transcendental form by the Father of Light and thought of as a fourth evocation, the other members being the Maiden of Light and the Great Manūḥmēd.<sup>12</sup> When the visible world was brought into existence, this wholly celestial being was divinely sent to Adam in order to 'awaken' him from his lethargic sleep which involved sin and death. He gave Adam the knowledge of good and evil and vouchsafed him a vision of heaven, besides revealing his own celestial Jesus-self as identical with the light that was now diffused throughout nature, but imprisoned, maltreated, and undergoing suffering by contact everywhere with matter. In terms of Western Manichaeism this was the 'Jesus Patibilis,' the Jesus 'hanging on every tree.' Mānī's view of the historical Jesus in the New Testament was docetic. He came upon this earth only in appearance<sup>13</sup> and was in semblance crucified. He was an envoy of the Spirit, and Mānī claimed to be the Paraclete whom he had promised to the world.

Mānī gave himself out as the final messenger of truth, summing up in his revelation all knowledge for the betterment and salvation of mankind. Mānī's teachings therefore impressed the fact that there was the element of a saving grace in man. The change from the 'old man' to the 'new man,' borrowed from St. Paul, on whose teaching the Manichaean Christian sects laid much stress, gave

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Jn. in *JRAS. Cent. Suppl.* 1924, p. 141-142 (reprinted below, p. 277-8).

<sup>13</sup> A Manichaean Turfān Pahlavi Fragment, M. 28 (= F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-reste*, 2. 94-95) anathematizes, among others, those who 'invoke the son of Mary (*bar Maryam*) as the Son of the Lord (*pūs 'ī Adōnāī*).'



hope. Man has within him the ability to separate the light which was mixed with darkness in his composition, provided that he would follow the precepts laid down in Mānī's 'Religion of Purity,' the 'Religion of Light.' The result of his doing this would be the 'leading on up' (a technical Manichæan word) of the redeemed light to the Light, and would finally bring 'release' or salvation. In attaining this ultimate liberation not the individual alone, but also the universe was concerned, and to this end the organization of the cosmic world was ordained. The true exemplars of the faith, throughout their life and immediately after death, contributed to freeing the bright elements from gross matter. These liberated elements were unceasingly rising heavenward through the Column of Praise, or Column of Dawn (the Milky Way), or through the medium of the Zodiacal constellations, to the moon and sun respectively. These two great luminaries, conceived as 'ships,' ferried in turn the assembled particles to the luminous abode. The role played by man in the individual and universal redemption of light is therefore clearly drawn in Mānī's religious, moral, and ethical teachings.

Man himself consists of body, soul, and spirit. This threefold distinction was taken over by Mānī from the earlier systems of the Christian Gnostics (though still earlier in Sāṅkhya philosophy) which recognized the existence of the corporeal (or hylic) body, the more animal (psychic) soul, and the finer, subtler, more spiritual (pneumatic) essence as supreme above all. That division runs through all of Mānī's teachings.

Mānī divided his followers into two classes. The first were the Elect or Perfect, those capable of leading a life of celibacy and extreme austerity, exemplifying the highest standard of life, and engaged in teaching and preaching. Women as well as men were received into the order of the Elect. The status of these Manichæan devotees may best be

understood by comparing them to monks and nuns, Mānī's monastic idea having probably been borrowed from Buddhism. The second class comprised the Auditors, or Hearers, as the laymen of the community were called. Upon these militants for the faith were imposed less exacting standards of living. Such a layman might marry one wife, but the development of the family appears not to have been encouraged. They might indulge in lucrative pursuits so far as these occupations did not interfere with religious observances. The chief merit which they could gain was by contributing to the support of the pious Elect, and through advancing the religion. The hope offered to them in the hereafter was that they could be reborn in the form of the Elect and thus win eternal felicity, for Mānī recognized the doctrine of metempsychosis. (See Jackson, in *JAOS.* (1925), 45. 246-268.)

Upon the Elect and Hearers alike the observance of Mānī's ten commandments was enjoined. Parallels to this decalogue in a general way are found in Buddhism, in the Old Testament, and in Christianity. Seven 'seals' as emblems of the religion were likewise to be accepted. Four of these were doctrinal, comprising (1) love for the Godhead; (2) faith in the Sun and Moon as the great orbs of light; (3) reverence for the divine elements in Primal Man; and (4) a recognition of the inspired office of the great revealers of religions. The other three seals (5, 6, 7) were of a moral and ethical nature, relating to the standards to be observed in daily life. Each of these three implied purity of conduct in word, deed, and thought, symbolized under the terms of 'seal of the mouth, hand, and bosom.' Mānī claimed to be a physician both of the body and the soul, and his teachings were strongly opposed to war.<sup>14</sup>

The Manichaeans had very simple places of worship; specimens of these modest temples have been found among

<sup>14</sup> Jn. *Source*, p. 277-278. On the seals see below, p. 331-337.

the ruins in Central Asia. The absence of such remains in the West is doubtless to be explained through the persecution which the Manichaeans there suffered. The Manichaean form of worship consisted especially in prayers, hymns, and confession.<sup>15</sup> The religious duties imposed upon the faithful involved frequent fasts, devotional gatherings and the giving of alms to the Perfect. A solemn annual festival, kept with great ceremony, was that of the Bēma, or vacant throne of Mānī, commemorating the anniversary of his martyr death. Throughout the religion the numeral 5 runs as a sacred number, while 7 and 12 have also symbolic significance.

The Manichaean church was systematically organized and included five orders. Although the designation of these naturally varies in the different languages, it is clear from all the sources that the five orders, beginning with the lowest, were these: (1) Hearers; (2) Elect; (3) Elders; (4) Bishops; (5) Masters or Teachers. St Augustine was familiar with this accepted arrangement, and he adds that Mānī's upper hierarchy comprised seventy-two Bishops, and twelve Masters or Chiefs, together with a thirteenth who was supreme above all. The higher pontiffs, as we are particularly informed through Chinese Manichaean documents, moved from place to place, and were engaged especially in imparting the more advanced forms of religious knowledge.

The doctrine regarding the life hereafter and the fate of the soul was a tenet of paramount importance in Mānī's teaching. The destiny of the soul was determined in accordance with the threefold division of mankind into Elect, Hearers, and Sinners. The Elect were assured of immediate felicity after death; for, crowned with a diadem and robed

<sup>15</sup> For a description of one of the ceremonial offerings connected with the service, see a short article by Jackson, 'Turfan Pahlavi *Miyazdag-tāzih*,' in *JAOS.* 49. 34-39.

with light, and having quaffed the cup of the living waters, they entered forthwith into eternal beatitude. The Auditors had only the promise of a deferred reward. A renewal of life (implying metempsychosis as in Buddhism) was involved until, by advancing gradually to the stage of the Perfected, they could enter into bliss 'in the second form' because of their having struggled in behalf of the faith. Inveterate sinners—those above all who had not accepted the Religion—were doomed to hell.

Despite his austere, sombre view of life, Mānī believed that mankind, through observing his precepts, will steadily advance towards perfection and that all the imprisoned luminous particles, separated ultimately from dark matter, will at last be restored to the Realm of Light. Signs of the times foretokened the coming of the third age, the end that was near at hand. His doctrine of eschatology, or the final end of things, was highly elaborate. The Powers of Light will participate in the establishment of the 'new realm' which his vision, tinged here especially by Christianity and Zoroastrianism, made graphic. When the last atom of missing light is liberated, save for an insignificant, entangled portion, a conflagration, lasting for 1468 years,<sup>16</sup> will destroy the visible cosmos, burning up even that 'close-knit portion' or 'Bōlos,' in which some particles of light may still remain commingled with darkness, and will bring to pass the complete triumph of the Forces of Good. Darkness and Evil will then be imprisoned in the dismal abyss to eternity. The 'Third Time' will at last be ushered in and the primordial condition of the universe restored to its original status, with Light reigning in supreme serenity forever.<sup>17</sup>

Such is the general outline of Manichaeism as it may be sketched from the Western and the Eastern sources com-

<sup>16</sup> A suggested explanation of this number '1468' will be found in an article by Dr. C. J. Ogden, in the *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, p. 102-105. Bombay, 1930.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Jn. *Zor. Stud.*, p. 191-192, and *Source*, p. 280.

bined. Perhaps it preserved a more original aspect in the region that gave it birth, the Babylonian province of the Persian Empire and its environs, if we may hazard a judgment based on some of the Syriac, Arabic, and, in part, later Greek sources which belong nearer to that territory. In this connection, furthermore, the early diffusion of Manichaeism eastward and, somewhat later, westward, now commands our attention.

The spread of the religion eastward began even in Mānī's lifetime, when he was banished from the empire by Shāhpuhr I and traveled in Central Asia and Eastern Turkistān, preaching his creed. After he ventured to return to Persia and was martyred, the persecutions that followed drove many of his adherents to the east, and we can trace its subsequent history in the Orient (Khurāsān, Central Asia, and even China) for much more than a thousand years.<sup>18</sup> The discovery of the actual Manichaean documents in the heart of Asia itself has helped in recent years to make all this more clear.

Our immediate interest, however, is to outline next the diffusion of Manichaeism westward into the Roman Empire and that of Byzantium, its competition with Christianity, and its ultimate extinction or rather absorption into other heresies.<sup>19</sup> Manichaeism possessed from the outset certain

<sup>18</sup> Consult the short sketch in an-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, written in A.D. 988, of the migrations of the Manichaeans in the East, as translated into German by G. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 105-106, and into English by E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, I. 163-164. For the history of Manichaeism in China, beginning from the seventh century and continuing (though later sporadically) to the seventeenth century, see the French translation of Chinese texts by P. Pelliot, in *J.A.* 1913<sup>1</sup>, 145-199; 261-383. Cf. likewise, S. Lindquist, *Manikeismens religionshistoriska ställning*, p. 32-44, Upsala, 1921; also an article by my former pupil, T. A. Bisson, 'Some Chinese Records of Manichaeism in China,' in *The Chinese Recorder*, July, 1929, p. 1-16.

<sup>19</sup> Consult the elaborate essay by Em. de Stoop, *Diffusion du Manichéisme dans l'Empire Romain*, Ghent, 1909.

features that attracted the West and led to its becoming in a way the successor of the 'mystery' religions and of Mithraism. People were drawn by its Oriental coloring, its dualistic explanation of good and evil, especially when combined with the doctrine of metempsychosis as solving certain seeming inconsistencies in this world; likewise by its pronounced policy of adapting itself to the needs imposed by environment, its tendencies towards social equality, its standards of morality, and its simple form of worship.

Swiftly it spread across Egypt and along the Mediterranean shore of North Africa, taking a strong foothold in the Roman proconsular province opposite Sicily, penetrating into Rome itself and into Spain and southern Gaul, if we accept the view that the Priscillianists of Spain were tinged by Manichaeism. The Roman emperors were aroused against its antinomian tendencies as subversive of the State, and the ecclesiastics were bitter in denouncing its doctrines as inimical to the Church. Imperial edicts, pontifical proscriptions, accompanied by incessant persecution, did much to suppress Manichaeism in northern Africa, aided by the zeal of Augustine after his conversion to Christianity. The great Church Father's writings against the Manichaeans, especially against Faustus, are justly famous. Even more effective, perhaps, in reducing the cult was the invasion by the Vandals. The ages that followed are somewhat obscure, but Manichaeism, though suppressed, did not cease to make its way secretly among the peoples of southern Europe, and in later times came to the surface with vigor, though in forms greatly changed from the original.<sup>20</sup>

The recrudescence of these doctrines and their spread in the Christian world usually took shape under the guise of a protest against the elaborations of the Christian religion. One of the factors in the whole movement was the Paulicians

<sup>20</sup> Jn. *Source*, p. 281.

of Armenia and Asia Minor, in which territory Manichaeism had early been disseminated. It was the Paulicians who exercised a direct influence upon Bulgaria in the tenth century by introducing their teachings and giving rise ultimately to Bogomilism (friendship with the beloved of God).<sup>21</sup> The Bogomils of Bulgaria, whose heretical tenets represented a curiously bizarre form of Manichaeism, made an important link in the chain of sects that stretched westward through northern Italy, including especially the Cathari about Milan, and ending in the Albigenses of southern France.

The people in this region of southern Gaul wanted a religion of their own, which was not that of the Church or even what we might now call evangelical Christianity. They found it, not directly in the religion of Mānī, but in the ideas which he had set going, and which had penetrated to the Western world. At any rate, the leaders of the Bogomil, Patarine, and Albigensian sects were the old Perfecti of the Manichaeans under a different guise and were the representatives of unwallled monasticism.

Thus in the Albigenses the Church found a rival religion, propagated silently, and attracting the more earnest spirits to deny the authority of the Christian revelation and to substitute another in its place. This will explain, if it does not excuse, the fanaticism displayed by those zealots for the teaching of the Church whose orthodoxy failed to win the heretics by persuasion, and finally had recourse, first to the crusading spirit of the French, and then to the organized system of suppression embodied in the Inquisition.<sup>22</sup>

The preceding outline will at least show the interest which Manichaeism has for students of the history of religions. As a faith Manichaeism no longer exists and

<sup>21</sup> See V. N. Sharenkoff, *A study of Manichaeism in Bulgaria with special reference to the Bogomils*, New York, 1927 (Columbia University dissertation, printed by Carranza and Company, N. Y. City).

<sup>22</sup> *Jn. Source*, p. 282.

was always regarded by other creeds as a heresy, particularly because of its eclectic character. But it was a veritable religion and exercised an influence, for more than a thousand years, upon the lives of countless numbers of devoted followers, inspired by the ideals and high principles of its Founder, whom they accounted divine, and the example of whose martyr death they were led to emulate both at the time and in after ages. In one of the Turfān Pahlavi hymns in praise of Mānī a verse chants him as, 'Thou who art born under a victorious (or effulgent) star in the line of rulers!' Truly, that long-dimmed star has shone out anew in the East, shedding its light on the sand-buried ruins in Central Asia.



PART II

TRANSLATIONS OF TURFAN PAH-  
LAVI MANICHAEAN FRAGMENTS  
WITH NOTES AND TRANS-  
LITERATED TEXTS

## STUDY II

### THE MANICHAEAN COSMOLOGICAL FRAGMENT M. 98-99 IN TURFAN PAHLAVI

‘Your Mighty Spirit who constructs the world from  
the captive bodies of the race of Darkness.’—ST.  
AUGUSTINE, *Contra Faustum*, 20. 9.

A text of much interest for our knowledge of Manichæan cosmology is found in the Turfan Fragment M. 98-99, which was published, with a tentative German translation, by Professor F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-reste*, 2. p. 37-43, Berlin, 1904. A detailed study of this Fragment, with a revised translation and notes, is here presented. Some of the etymologies proposed may possibly help to remove more than one of the difficulties encountered by that learned scholar as a pioneer. New, so far as I know, is the suggestion that the division of the Eight Earths, familiar in Manichæism, is to be recognized in this TPhl. Fragment. Several points elucidated in the discussions may also aid us to a better understanding of certain passages in other Manichæan documents, though it must be acknowledged that much remains obscure and hard to visualize in this fragmentary chapter from the writings of Mānī. Specialists in cosmology will be able to lend much help in interpreting the Fragment, while the authorities on Iranian philology will be quick to point out what is amiss in my translation or explanations. References to the more important literature that has already appeared on the subject will be found in the Bibliography (p. xxiv f.) and throughout the Notes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Although including from the Manichæan documents and other sources much that seems pertinent for our purpose, I have reserved for treatment elsewhere a short ‘dialectic’ (Soghdian) piece in Müller, 2. p. 97-98 (paralleled in the Fihrist), because, though it has a cosmo-

The importance of M. 98-99 as containing direct Manichaeic material on the subject of cosmology is manifest. We had long been familiar with Mānī's dualistic conception of the realm of Light and the realm of Darkness. It was well known from other sources that his ontological speculations concerning the primordial status of the universe, the Light Air and Light Earth above, superimposed upon the abysmal Dark Earth from which came the diabolical invasion of the celestial domain, gave rise to an elaborate system of cosmology. An incomplete section of the complicated story of the creation lies now before us in this scanty piece from Mānī's writings. If found alone, much of the text would be incomprehensible; but other TPhL. remnants, sand-buried for a thousand years in the oasis of Turfan, help to shed light on numerous points. So do likewise the old Manichaeic documents in Turkish and Chinese, similarly discovered in the desiccated Central Asian region. These materials, when finally combined with the indirect non-Manichaeic sources, whether written in Syriac, Arabic, Book-Pahlavi, or in Greek and Latin, enable us to supply much that is only dimly outlined in the sketch presented by the text under consideration.

The key for interpreting much of the present Fragment and the cosmological process which it describes, is in our hand when we recognize throughout that the active agent (and the subject of all the main verbs) is the Living Spirit, Spirit of Power, or Demiurge,<sup>1</sup> although the name does not, in its original aspect, it sustains no direct relation to the special phase with which our Fragment is concerned.

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the Living Spirit and his (its) creative energy, see Jackson, *JRAS.* Oct. 1924, p. 149-155 (Centenary Supplement Number), and especially p. 147 on the relation of the Living Spirit to 'the Great Ban (*Bān*).' Reprinted in Study X. In translating below I have followed the usual method of rendering *parzīd*, *kērd*, etc. by a preterite active 'he (i.e. the Living Spirit) fettered, made' etc. The origin of these forms from an older Iranian passive past participle is well known (cf. Carnoy, *JAOS.* 39. 118).

occur in these two folio leaves owing to the fact that the pages preceding them have been lost. This also accounts for the absence of a description of the creation of the Ten Heavens and all that preceded that event,<sup>1</sup> since our Fragment begins abruptly in the midst of the Manichæan myth of the demons chained to the sky, and then recounts how the orbs of the sun and moon were formed, and how the mystery of the New Paradise<sup>2</sup> was prepared for by first digging up and leveling the five Caverns of Death, proceeding thence earthward in its narrative.

From what we know both here and elsewhere, the formation of the successive Earths by the Living Spirit evidently began from below the 'Border' (*vīmand*, cf. note on a 7), or that infinitely outspread surface where the 'Dark Earth' originally touched upon the 'Light Earth' at every point of its vast expanse. The creative activity starts, not with the profoundest deeps, but with the nether strata where darkness is less opaque than at the bottomless depths.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Turkish Manichæan Fragment (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* I. p. 13-14) briefly mentions the creation of the ten heavens and some of the preceding events. Regarding the Chinese Manichæan Treatise with its allusions see Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 514 and 516. By comparing these two we see that our TPhL. Fragment starts immediately after the formation of the Zodiac which followed directly upon the creation of the Ten Heavens. The rescue of Primal Man and the recovery of his Light Elements contaminated by Darkness must have preceded. See below, Study IX and XII. [Cf. later, Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus* (1926), p. 14-20, 49-50, 97 f.]

<sup>2</sup> For the 'New Paradise' etc., see below, M. 98 b, 5-8.

<sup>3</sup> The visit of the Living Spirit to these dismal realms in connection with the rescue of Primal Man is all too briefly alluded to in the Turkish Fragment of Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* I. p. 13-14, and in the non-Manichæan sources (Fihrist, etc.). See below, Study IX. In this same connection we may remark that the Chinese Manichæan Treatise (*JA.* 1911, p. 510-523) is more full in describing the entry of the Living Spirit (Tsing-fong) and the Excellent Mother (Shan-mu) into the non-luminous domain and the caverns of darkness where the Living Spirit ('Pure Wind') began the creative activity. This same treatise

The Living Spirit's work then continues upward by successive stages until he <sup>1</sup> lays out our own earth's surface contiguous to the bordering area of the celestial light.

The division of the Eight Earths, laid one above the other over the primordial 'Dark Earth' (which is of course not included, though a part of it, cf. b, 1-8, 10-12, seems to have been cleared away to receive them), can be plainly recognized through the following references, even if the designation 'eight' itself happens not to be expressed.

EIGHT EARTHS (see DIAGRAM, p. 74.)

- |           |  |   |
|-----------|--|---|
| i-iv.     | 'Four Deposits' as basic earths above the primordial Dark Earth (b, 9-12). <sup>2</sup> .....      | 4 |
| v.        | 'One other great earth above the deposits' (b, 17-19).   | 1 |
| vi.       | 'One great and firm earth with twelve doors, which match the doors of heaven' (c, 10-13).....      | 1 |
| vii-viii. | 'Two other earths which are mixed,' above the latter mighty ( <i>māzaman</i> ) earth (d, 4-7)..... | 2 |

---

Total 8 earths, the regular number in Manichaeism.

This preliminary exposition, though it traverses ground that is in the main familiar to close students of the subject, may be of some service in making a little clearer to others the intricate details that follow.

in its second section 'B' (*op. cit.*, p. 556-559) applies this idea allegorically to the spiritual re-creation of man by 'the Great Envoy of Light' who brings him 'out of the fivefold dark and obscure caverns' in which he is lost through ignorance. Special note should be made of the fact that even if 'five dark earths' appear symbolically in that particular section 'B' (cf. p. 559) of the Chinese document, nevertheless 'eight earths' (p. 514, 516) are expressly mentioned as fundamental in the earlier portion ('A') of this valuable text.

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the translation by 'he' (as preferable here to 'she' or 'it,' since sex plays no part in these Manichaean abstract personifications, nor is indicated by grammatical gender in the text), see Jackson, *JRAS. Cent. Suppl.*, p. 150 n. 1. See reprint below in Study X n. 50.

<sup>2</sup> For the nature of these lowest four as composed of the dark elements (*hōšāgēn*, etc.) see below, transl. and notes on these respective lines.

As regards the text, Fragment M. 98-99 consists of two folio leaves, which combined make four consecutive pages, those preceding and following them being lost. By comparing the leaves which have been preserved, we see that the manuscript ran 25 lines to a page; the last line on each page of folio M. 98 a-b, however, has been destroyed, in contrast to fol. M. 99 c-d, which still has preserved the full 25 lines. The text itself, as here printed, is a reproduction in general of the transcript given by Müller, since a facsimile of the original has not been published.

Concerning transliteration, it is hardly worth noting that the long mark, or makron (ˉ), has been substituted throughout for Müller's circumflex (ˆ), and the transliteration *x* has been adopted instead of *kh*, because used more commonly by Iranian specialists. The smooth breathing 'hamza' sign (') as initial before *a* and *ā* has been omitted, though kept for 'ē, 'ō and 'ū; likewise the designation (') for the special 'ain-character in the text has been retained. Any important departure from Müller's reading of a word is indicated by a cross-mark (+).

The signs /// //, as remarked in the prefatory matter (p. xxiii), denote letters missing in the original document, and supplied by conjecture, thus, 'ēra///// to be filled in by 'ēra[gīhāh] (M. 98 c, 25). Similarly, one or two new proposals, indicated also by the cross-mark (+), as in the case of //rḥīg = +[za]rḥīg (M. 99 d, 23), and of ///dūdī Mīhryazd to be restored as +[gahī] dūdī Mīhryazd (M. 98 b, 1), will serve as examples of such restitutions. Regarding punctuation symbols (o), actually in the manuscript, see below p. 29, note (\*).

The translation, although having had the great advantage of Müller's pioneer rendering in German, has been made entirely anew in the light of further philological studies which the lapse of time since 1904 has made possible. Style has been wholly sacrificed to literalness in the cause of

scholarly exactitude. Words that have been supplied to fill in lacunae, or otherwise, are enclosed in square brackets [ ]. Words that are naturally understood or are added simply to make the sense more clear, are placed in parentheses ( ). I have ventured to paragraph (§) certain sections in my English rendering in order to bring out more precisely the successive stages in the process of the cosmological creation.

The C a p t i o n Lines. Before turning to the text and translation itself we may dispose briefly of the R u n n i n g C a p t i o n in blue ink that heads in sequence the four pages comprised in the two successive folios of M. 98, 99. The actual connection of these blue headlines is missing owing to the loss of what may have preceded and followed. When combined in sequence (as can be done in the case of certain superscriptions in other Fragments), the contents of these captions read consecutively as follows:

(Müller, p. 37-42, headlines, partly revised in the translation).

'Ō MAN YĪŠŌ'PRAZĒ//[ND],<sup>1</sup> (p. 39) DIBĪR<sup>2</sup> 'Ī NŌG

<sup>1</sup>YĪŠŌ'prazē//[nd]: careful consideration leads at present to refer this epithet 'Child of Jesus' not to Mānī himself, as a quotation from some lost work of his or his followers, but rather to the scribe who is writing with great humility and possibly citing some colophon of a sacred text. Somewhat similarly Müller, p. 111 n. 1, who regards it as a prayer-formula. The use of 'Jesus' in compound Manichaean names may be fully supported by such appellations in the TPhl. Hymn Book Maḥrnāmag (ed. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt*, p. 10-11 f.) as YĪŠŌ'varz, 'Jesus-work' or accomplishment through Jesus, YĪŠŌ'yān, 'Jesus-grace,' or boon of Jesus, YĪŠŌ'zēn, 'Jesus-weapon,' or armed by Jesus, YĪŠŌ'bām, 'Jesus-dawn,' or enlightenment, (see Müller, *op. cit.*, lines 68, 96, 121, 141). Hence the decision to assign this appellation here to the scribe as his own name. The humble tone (*kē qanbišt* etc.) that follows would further bear this out that through Mānī, 'the Apostle of Jesus' and Paraclete, he had grace to bear this designation of 'Jesus-Child.'

<sup>2</sup>dibīr: This well-known word for 'scribe' appears likewise as *dibīr*

'ūd aqarōg,<sup>1</sup> (p. 41) kē qanbīšt pad parīh,<sup>2</sup> (p. 42)  
ad ḥarvaqīn<sup>3</sup> ranzvarān<sup>4</sup>

or *diṭīr* in the TPhl. Maḥrnāmag (*op. cit.* Müller, lines 118, 119, 174, 221, 226).

<sup>1</sup> *nōg* 'ūd *aqarōg*: 'new (i.e. as a novice) and inept (inefficient).' So I suggest. The word *aqarōg* is a crux but must certainly be a supplementary parallel adjective to *nōg*. Müller leaves it untranslated at p. 39 (*op. cit.*), but at p. 111 n. 1, doubtfully renders as 'Schreiber des Neuen und Ungetanen (?).' Salemann, *MSt.* I. p. 53 top, avoids giving any translation for *aqarōg* in his Glossary, and simply adds, p. 155 § 9, that if this word should mean 'untätig' we might possibly regard it as showing a formative suffix -ōg. In translating, I have preferred to take the phrase 'ī *nōg* 'ūd *aqarōg* as a direct attribute of *dibīr* and not as a phrase dependent upon it, and have accordingly rendered it 'the scribe who is a novice and inept.' Etymologically we may analyze the adjective *aqarōg* as *a-qar-ōg* (with *q* for *k* as often) and compare it in meaning with Skt. *a-kara-*, 'not-doing, incapable, inefficient.' The adjectival ending -ōg we may find in TPhl. *a-varz-ōg*, name of one of the chief fiends in Manichaeism as a personification of concupiscence, the indulgence in which results in inactivity and sloth, compare the cognate attribute in the Avesta (Vd. 18. 30 f.) *druxš avərəsikā*, of the 'fiend not working, lazy' (*a-varz-*), whose own worthless indolence tends merely to engendering evil. This latter philological digression as to *avarzōg* is made simply in support of the suggestion offered to explain *aqarōg*.

<sup>2</sup> *parīh* (*parēh*): better to be read as *farrēh*, see Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis d. mittelperan. Mundarten*, 5. p. 20 n. 1. Previously Salemann, *MStud.* I. p. 118, expressed some hesitation as to connecting *parīh* (as *farīh*) with N.P. *xurrah*, 'glory.' But the sense seems to assure a connection. Consult my fuller note on *parēh* in Frag. S. 7 a, 9, below in Study IV.

<sup>3</sup> *ḥarvaqīn*: so to be transcribed (with *q* for *k* as often), and taken as plur. adj. 'all,' cf. Bthl. *Zur Kennt. d. mittelperan. Mundarten*, 5. p. 9, line 5. This word (with *k*) occurs twice in M. 733 v. 13, 16 (= Mü. p. 32 mid., '*ḥarvkēn*'): thus, *ḥarvakīn aš[māh] vaḥībgar*, 'of you all (I am) the benefactor,' and *ḥarvakīn a[š]māh ḥīyār ḥēm*, 'of you all I am the helper.'

<sup>4</sup> *ranzvarān*: the reading with initial *r* is correct, so we may omit Müller's query '(?)' regarding this letter in his decipherment. There is no doubt as to the word *ranz* being directly connected with BkPhl. *ranj*, NP. *ranj*, 'trouble, sorrow,' and NP. *ranjūr* (for *ranj-war*),



'Unto me, (namely) Jesus-Child, the scribe that is new and inept, who is least in glory, together with all the sorrowful ones.'

The text of the Fragment itself and its tentative translation is, however, much more important; and to this we may now devote our attention, merely keeping in mind the introductory remarks made above.

## TEXT OF TPHL. FRAGMENT M. 98-99

(ed. Müller, *op. cit.* 2. p. 37-43) \*

See the next pages (p. 30-31 f.) for the Text and Translation of this Fragment.

'grieved, afflicted,' Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 588. [Regarding  $z = j$  dialectically, consult also W. Lentz, 'Die nordiranischen Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache,' in *Zt. f. Ind. u. Iranistik*, 4. 300].

\* For the blue caption headlines in the original text, with transl. and comments, see above p. 27-29.

In the manuscript there are occasional small rings or circles (o or again oo) used to indicate marks of punctuation; these have been carefully reproduced because often, if not always, helpful in interpreting the text.

Concerning the significance of the cross-mark (+) and the proposed sign of paragraphing (¶), which I have inserted in the transliterated text and followed in the translation, see p. 26, 27.

The numbers appended to words in the text and translation refer to the Notes below, p. 38-70.

The text has been compared throughout with Salemann, *Man. Stud.* p. 16-17, which includes Müller's re-collation corrections.

## M. 98.

## Cosmological Fragment.

Blue caption: 'Ō MAN YĪŠŌ'PRAZĒ // [ND]

- Page I = a. *Hapt abāxtar*<sup>1</sup> + *parzid*<sup>2</sup> ○ — 'ūd *dō*  
*azdahāg*<sup>3</sup> *āgūst* 'ūd *gīšt*<sup>4</sup> ○ —  
 'ūd *pad hān* 'ī + 'ērdōm *asmān*  
 'ūl *āgūst* ○ — + 'ūšān<sup>5</sup> *pad vāng*
- a 5. *anpšpīn*<sup>6</sup> *gardanīdan*<sup>7</sup> *rāi* ○ — *nar vā māyag*  
 . . . . . (in correction, see note 6)  
*prēstag dō abar gūmārd* ○ ○ — ○ ○  
 [¶] 'Ūšān<sup>8</sup> *dūdī* 'ūl 'ō *vīmand*<sup>9</sup> ○ — 'ūd  
*bārīst* 'ī *rōšan ahrāpt*<sup>10</sup> ○ ○ — *vā*<sup>11</sup>  
*aʃ vād* 'ūd *rōšan āb vā ādūr*
- a 10. 'ī *aʃ gūmēzīšn pārūd*<sup>12</sup> ○ — *rōšan*  
*raḫē*<sup>13</sup> *dō* ○ — *hān* 'ī *xvarxšēd* ○ — *aʃ*  
*ādūr* 'ūd *rōšan*<sup>14</sup> ○ — *pad*<sup>15</sup> *panz parī*////[sp]<sup>16</sup>  
*pravahrēn*<sup>17</sup> *vādēn rōšanēn ābēn*  
 'ūd *ādūrēn* ○ — 'ūd *dvāzah dar*<sup>18</sup> ○ — *vā*
- a 15. *mān panz* ○ — 'ūd *gāh seh* ○ — 'ūd  
*ravānčīn*<sup>19</sup> *prēstag panz* ○ — 'ī *andar*  
*ādūrēn*<sup>20</sup> *parīsp* ○ ○ — ○ ○ 'ūd *hān*  
 'ī *māh yazd* ○ — *aʃ vād vā āb*<sup>21</sup>  
*pad panz parīsp* ○ — *pravahrēn*<sup>22</sup> *vādēn*
- a 20. *rōšanēn ādūrēn* 'ūd *ābēn* ○ — 'ūd  
*čaḫārdah dar*<sup>23</sup> ○ — 'ūd *mān panz* ○ — *vā*  
*gāh seh* ○ — *vā ravānčīn prēst*////[ag]  
*panʃ* ○ — 'ī *andar ābēn parīsp*  
*qērd* 'ūd *vīrāst*<sup>24</sup> ○ ○ — [¶] 'Ūšā[n]////<sup>25</sup>
- a 25. /////<sup>26</sup>

## LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE TURFAN PAHLAVI TEXT

(The blue captions are translated above, p. 29)

M. 98 a, lines 1-6. 'He (i.e. the Living Spirit) fastened <sup>2</sup> the Seven Planets (*abāxtar*)<sup>1</sup>; and he bound (*āgūst*)<sup>4</sup> and fettered (*gīšt*)<sup>4</sup> two Dragons (*Azdahāg*),<sup>3</sup> and bound them on high ('*ūl*) to that which is the lowest heaven; and,<sup>5</sup> in order to make them <sup>5</sup> turn <sup>7</sup> the firmament (?)<sup>6</sup> at call, he placed in charge over (them) two Angels,<sup>3</sup> a male and a female.

[¶] a, 7-24. And ('*ū*-)<sup>8</sup> furthermore (*dūdī*), up to the Border (*vīmand*)<sup>9</sup> and the summit of Light he led <sup>10</sup> those (-*šān*) (Elements?),<sup>8</sup> and he made and arranged,<sup>11</sup> out of the Wind and Light, Water and Fire which had been separated (i.e. 'purified' *pārūd*)<sup>12</sup> from the mixture (of Darkness), the two Light Vehicles,<sup>13</sup> (namely) that of the Sun from Fire<sup>14</sup> and Light, with <sup>15</sup> Five Wa[lls]<sup>16</sup> of Ether, Wind, Light, Water and Fire,<sup>17</sup> and Twelve Doors<sup>18</sup> and Five Mansions (*mān*) and Three Thrones (Positions? *gāh*) and Five Soul-gathering Angels,<sup>19</sup>—(all) which are within the Fiery<sup>20</sup> Wall. And he made and arranged <sup>24</sup> (line 24) that (Vehicle)<sup>13</sup> of the Moon God from Wind and Water,<sup>21</sup> with Five Walls of Ether, Wind, Light, Fire and Water;<sup>22</sup> and Fourteen Doors<sup>23</sup> and Five Mansions and Three Thrones (Positions?) and Five Soul-gathering Angels,—(all) which are within the Watery Wall.

[¶] a 24-b 8. And the[se////,<sup>25</sup> *end of line broken and all the next line ///// etc., at the bottom of the leaf, is lost.*]<sup>26</sup>

Page 2=b. Blue caption: *DIBĪR 'Ī NŌG*  
*'ŪD AQARŌG*

*andar pēmōxt* <sup>27</sup> ○ ○ — *|||| dūdī*

corrected

*mīhryazd* <sup>28</sup> *aǰ ham pārāyišn* <sup>29</sup>

*pēmōg seh* <sup>30</sup> ○ — *'i vād āb 'ūd*

*ādūr pēmōxt* ○ — *'ūd pārūd* <sup>31</sup> *'ō tār*

b 5. *zamīg 'ōxēst* <sup>32</sup> ○ ○ *'Ūd rāz* <sup>33</sup> *'i*

*vazurg vaḥīšt 'i nōg abar āpūrīdan* <sup>34</sup>

*rāi* ○ — *hān panz kandār* <sup>35</sup> *'i marg hangand* <sup>36</sup>

*'ūd hāmgen* <sup>37</sup> *qērd* ○ ○ — [¶] *'Ūd hambidī* <sup>38</sup>

*asmānān abar tār zamīg* ○ —

b 10. *nīrāmīšn* <sup>39</sup> *čaḥār* ○ — *ḥōšāgen* <sup>40</sup> *vā*

*tārēn ādūrēn 'ūd ābēn yaq*

*|||[aba]r dūdī +ničīd* <sup>41</sup> *'ūd nīrāpt* <sup>42</sup> ○ ○ — *vā*

*parīsp* <sup>43</sup> *'ēv 'i aǰ rōšan zamīg* <sup>44</sup>

*xvarāsānīhāh 'ēragīhāh vā*

b 15. *xvarparānīhāh 'ōbāyenīd* ○ — *'ūd*

*abā* <sup>45</sup> *'ō zamīg 'i rōšan*

*hangāpt* ○ — [¶] *'Ūš anī* <sup>46</sup> *vazurg zamīg*

*'ēv qērd 'ūd abar nīrāmīšnān*

*nīīsād* <sup>47</sup> ○ — *'ūd 'ōē pramānagēn yazd*

b 20. *abar* <sup>48</sup> *mānbēd qērd* ○ ○ — ○ ○ *vā abar* <sup>49</sup>

*ham zamīg andarōn anī* <sup>50</sup> *parīsp*

*'ēv* ○ — *tarē* <sup>51</sup> *xvarāsān 'ērag 'ūd*

[x]varnavār ○ — *pad ham seh kēšvar* <sup>52</sup>

[i]stūn seh ○ — *'ūd tāg* <sup>53</sup> *panz* ○ ○

b 25. [Rest mutilated.] <sup>54</sup>

(M. 98. b, line 1) he clothed within (enveloped?).<sup>27</sup> [Then =////] <sup>28</sup> furthermore (*dūdī*) <sup>28</sup> he clothed the Sun God (*Mihryazd*) <sup>28</sup> with three coverings (*pēmōg seh*),<sup>30</sup> the Wind, Water and Fire (made) from the same separation <sup>29</sup> (i.e. purification of Light particles from the Dark); and the separated (Dark portion, *pārūd*) <sup>31</sup> sank down (*'ōxēst*) <sup>32</sup> to the Dark Earth. And in order to create above (*abar āpūrīdan*) <sup>34</sup> the mystery of the great New Paradise,<sup>33</sup> he razed <sup>36</sup> those Five Caverns <sup>35</sup> of death and made them even (i.e. level).<sup>37</sup>

[¶] 98 b, 8-17. ('The Four Deposits' = lowermost or basic Earths, I-IV). And corresponding to <sup>38</sup> the Heavens, above (*abar*) the Dark Earth <sup>39</sup> he collected (*ničīd*) <sup>41</sup> and deposited,<sup>42</sup> one over ([*aba*])<sup>r</sup> the other, the Four Deposits (*nīrāmīšn čahār* = the four nethermost Earths),<sup>39</sup> (namely) the Destructive (i.e. of parching wind) <sup>40</sup> and the Darksome, the Fiery and the Watery. And (*vā*) he constructed (*'ōbāyenīd*) <sup>44</sup> one Wall,<sup>43</sup> which (is = runs) from the Light Earth eastward, southward and westward, and joined (*hangāpt*) <sup>44</sup> (it) back to (*abāj 'ō*) <sup>45</sup> the Earth of Light.

[¶] 98 b, 17-[25]; 99 c, 1-10 (= Earth V). And he made one other <sup>46</sup> great earth (i.e. Earth Five) and placed it down (*nīīsād*) <sup>47</sup> over (or upon, *abar*) the (Four) Deposits and made the Mānbēd (i.e. Atlas) commanding god over it.<sup>48</sup> And on (*abar*) this same earth <sup>49</sup> (he made) one other Wall <sup>50</sup> within,<sup>50</sup> across <sup>51</sup> east, south, and west. In the same three quarters <sup>52</sup> (he made) three Columns and five Arches (*tāg*),<sup>53</sup> [last line, b 25, is defaced; supply by 'the first (arch running) from the wall-head which is

M. 99.

Page 3=c. Blue caption: *KĒ QANBĪST PAD PARĪH*

- xvarparān 'ō xvarparānīg*  
*'istūn o — vā dūdīg aḡ xvarparānīg*  
*'istūn 'ō hān 'i 'ēragīg 'istūn*  
*'ūd sidīg aḡ 'ēragīg 'istūn*  
 c 5. *'ō hān 'i xvarāsānīg 'istūn o o*  
*'ūd +tasōm aḡ xvarāsānīg*  
*'istūn 'ō parīsp sar 'i*  
*pad xvarāsān o — vā hān 'i +panz[ō]m* <sup>55</sup>  
*vazurg o aḡ +xvarās[ānīg]* <sup>56</sup> *'ō*  
 c 10. *xvarparānīg 'istūn o — [¶] 'Ūd zamīg*  
*'ēv vazurg 'ūd 'istabr pad dvāzdah*  
*dar* <sup>57</sup> *o — 'i hambidīf* <sup>58</sup> *asmānān*  
*dar* <sup>59</sup> *o o 'ūd abar* <sup>60</sup> *ham zamīg*  
*+pērāmōn* <sup>61</sup> *čaḡār* <sup>62</sup> *parīsp 'ūd*  
 c 15. *seh pārgēn kērd o — 'ūd pad hān*  
*'i andarōn pārgēn dēvān andar*  
*parzīd* <sup>63</sup> *o — 'ūd* <sup>64</sup> *+ 'ērdōm asmān*  
*abar sar o o 'ūd pad dast* <sup>65</sup> *'iš*  
*ačīš gīrd asmān vīnārdan*  
 c 20. *rāi o — +taskērb* <sup>66</sup> *hapt 'istūn*  
*andar 'istēnād* <sup>67</sup> *o — 'ūd 'ōē vazurg*  
*zamīg* <sup>68</sup> *abar 'istūnān 'ūd tāgān*  
*'ūd parīsp dō* <sup>69</sup> *o — abar parīīg* <sup>70</sup> *'i/////* <sup>71</sup>  
*mānbēd yazd nīisād* <sup>72</sup> *o — šā k/////* <sup>73</sup>  
 c 25. *xvarāsānīhāh 'era[gīhāh]* *////////* <sup>74</sup>  
 [Rest defaced (?).<sup>75</sup>]

*in*] <sup>54</sup> the west (M. 99. c 1) to the western column; and the second (arch) from the western column to that which (is) the southern column; and the third from the southern column to that which (is) the eastern column; and the fourth from the eastern column to the wall-head which (is) in the east; and that which (is) the fifth (arch), <sup>55</sup> a great one, from the east[ern] <sup>56</sup> to the western column.

[¶] 99 c 10-d 4 (= Earth VI). And he made (*kērd*, l. 15) one great and firm earth (i.e. Earth Six) with twelve Gates, <sup>57</sup> which correspond to <sup>58</sup> the Gates of the Heavens. <sup>59</sup> And upon (*abar*) this same earth, <sup>60</sup> round about (*pērāmōn*), <sup>61</sup> he made four Walls (*parīsp*) <sup>62</sup> and three Moats (*pārgēn*); <sup>62</sup> and in that which (is) the inner moat he fastened (*parzīd*) <sup>63</sup> the demons inside. And <sup>64</sup> he set (*īstēnād*, line 21) <sup>65</sup> the lowest heaven upon the head and in the hand (of him, the Mānbēd, line 24) whose <sup>65</sup> (task? is) to keep in order the heaven round about him (*ačīš gīrd*), <sup>65</sup> (setting) <sup>67</sup> four-times (?? <sup>+taskērb</sup>) <sup>66</sup> seven columns inside. <sup>67</sup> And this great earth (= Earth VI) <sup>68</sup> he laid down (*nīīsād*) <sup>72</sup> on (*abar*) the Columns and Arches <sup>68</sup> and the two Walls, <sup>69</sup> upon (*abar*) the shoulders (?) <sup>70</sup> of [that] <sup>71</sup> Mānbēd God—that one who <sup>73</sup> kept (= keeps) it in order (*vīnārd*) eastward, southward <sup>74</sup>, <sup>75</sup> and westward above (*abar*?) <sup>76</sup> the outermost (*bēdōm*) <sup>77</sup> Wall, and northward towards (*pad*) the Light Earth. <sup>78</sup>

Page 4=d. Blue caption: *AD*+*HARVAQĪN RANZVARĀN*'ūd *xvarparānīhāh abar* <sup>76</sup>*parīsp* 'ī +*bēdōm* <sup>77</sup> ○ ○ 'ūd*abaragīhāh* <sup>78</sup> *pad zamīg* 'ī *rōšan**vīnārd* ○ ○ [¶] 'Ūd *abar* 'ōē *vazurq*d 5. *māzaman* <sup>79</sup> *zamīg* ○ — 'ūd 'ōrōn <sup>80</sup> *aḡ**pārgēnān* <sup>81</sup> ○ — *anī* <sup>82</sup> *dō zamīg* 'ī*gūmēxtag* ○ — 'ūš <sup>83</sup> *dar vīsp nāi* <sup>84</sup>'//////// '////*rīj* <sup>85</sup> 'ī *vas vād āb*'//////////š <sup>86</sup> 'ul *ahrāpīan*d 10. *rāi* <sup>87</sup> *qērd* ○ — 'ūd +*pērāmōn* <sup>88</sup> *zamīg* <sup>89</sup>*parīsp* <sup>90</sup> 'ēv ○ — *pad čah'ār dar* <sup>91</sup>*vīnārd* <sup>92</sup> ○ ○ 'Ūd *andar čahār kēšvar**prēstag čahār* <sup>93</sup> ○ — *kē 'ērdōm**asmān dārēnd hambidīj* <sup>94</sup> 'ūdd 15. *hampēmōg* 'ī *abardarān abar*'īstēnād ○ ○ 'Ūd +*abgūhag* <sup>95</sup> 'ī*čahār qēšvar tār* <sup>96</sup> +*avīšōrūptan* <sup>97</sup>*rāi* ○ — *dvāzdah* +*dōšōx* <sup>98</sup> ○ — *seh**seh andar 'ēv pāīgōs* <sup>99</sup> *pasāxt* <sup>100</sup> ○ ○ —d 20. 'ūd 'ōrōn <sup>101</sup> *ačīš* +*pērāmōn* ○ ○ —+*zrēh* <sup>102</sup> *rāi* +*āhrēvar* <sup>103</sup> 'ēv ○ ○ 'ūd*pad ham* +*āhrēvar nāpag* <sup>104</sup> ○ — *mazan* <sup>105</sup> 'ī+////[*za*]*rīhīg* <sup>106</sup> *rāi* ○ — *zēndān* <sup>107</sup> *vīrāst* <sup>108</sup> ○ ○[¶]//// <sup>109</sup> *dūdī abar dēm* <sup>110</sup> 'ī *zamīq kōp*d 25. //////////////*r* <sup>111</sup> [=Sumē]*r sahīn vīčārīšnīj* <sup>112</sup>

[Rest mutilated.]



[¶] 99 d, 4-23 (= Earths VII-VIII). And above this great, mighty (?) <sup>79</sup> earth (i.e. above Earth Six) and apart (?) <sup>80</sup> from the Moats (of Earth VI) <sup>81</sup> he made (*qērd*, line 10) two other Earths which are mixed (i.e. Earth Seven and Earth Eight).<sup>82</sup> And he ('ū-š) <sup>83</sup> made (*qērd*) a door (*dar*), all-*nāi* (?),<sup>84</sup> for <sup>87</sup> leading up the *a*//////// '////*rīj*,<sup>85</sup> of the abundant Wind, Water, Fire, *a*////////š.<sup>86</sup> And around <sup>88</sup> the earth (VIII) <sup>89</sup> he put in order (*vīnārd*) <sup>92</sup> one Wall <sup>90</sup> with four Gates (*dar*);<sup>91</sup> and within the four Quarters (*kēšvar*) he stationed above (*abar* 'istēnād) four Angels <sup>93</sup> who hold <sup>93</sup> the lowest heaven, corresponding <sup>94</sup> and of like raiment to those who are higher up. And in order to sweep away (<sup>+</sup>*avīšōrūptan*)<sup>97</sup> the refuse (<sup>+</sup>*abgūhag*)<sup>95</sup> of the darkness of the four Quarters <sup>96</sup> (i.e. of Earth VII) he constructed (*pasāxt*) <sup>100</sup> (in Earth VII) Twelve Hells— <sup>98</sup> three each in every region (*pāīgōs*).<sup>99</sup> And apart (?) <sup>101</sup> therefrom, round about as a protection (<sup>+</sup>*zrēh rāi*),<sup>102</sup> he arranged (*vīrāst*, line 23) one enclosure-of-suffering (*āhrē-var*),<sup>103</sup> and in the middle <sup>104</sup> of the same enclosure-of-suffering he arranged <sup>108</sup> a prison (*zēndān*)<sup>107</sup> for the [poi]sonous <sup>106</sup> mass.<sup>105</sup>

[¶] 99 d, 24-25. ////[= Then] <sup>109</sup> again, upon the surface <sup>110</sup> of the earth (i.e. of Earth VIII) [he made] the Mountain //////////*r* (= Sumeru?) <sup>111</sup> *saḥn vīčārīšnīj*.<sup>112</sup>

(The rest is lost, since the two attached leaves evidently have nothing to do directly with the cosmological part of this Fragment, see *Mū. 2. p. 44 top*).

## NOTES ON THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(The black-face letters and numerals at the beginning of each paragraph refer to the places of the note numbers in the text and translation. The frequent abbreviation Bthl. stands for Bartholomae's book, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*, and Sm. *MStud.* stands for Salemann, *Manichaeische Studien I.*)

## Notes on M. 98 a 1-25

<sup>1</sup> M. 98 a, line 1. *hapt abāxtar*: cf. Avestan *apāxtara*. Seven planets appear as demoniacal powers in the Pahlavi Books (Bd. 5. 1; Mkh. 8. 17-21); these include Iranian names for Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn and two others, 'Gōchihir' and 'Mūshpar' (cf. Jackson, *Zor. Stud.* p. 106). Cf., further, Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 41-44; also Jackson, 'Sun, Moon and Stars (Iranian)' in *ERE.* 12. 85-88.

<sup>2</sup> a 1. *parzīd* (*p r z y d*): cf. NP. *parčīdan*, in the sense of 'to strike, drive (a nail), clench, make fixed,' Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 240. So also below c, 17. This refers to the familiar Manichaean story about fastening the Archons (cf. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, I. 25-27). Regarding the formation of this verb consult Bthl. *ZumAirWb.* p. 229 top, and compare Sm. *MStud.* I. p. 113 bottom.

<sup>3</sup> a 2. *azdahāg*: here a general term, reminiscent of Av. *Aži Dahāka*. The text affords no clue for determining which two of the numerous Archons in Manichaeism may be referred to, nor the names of the two Angels which were placed in charge of them. Neither of these dragons is to be confused with the specific demon alluded to in Mü. p. 19, line 5 and Le Coq, 3. p. 8; see my note on BkPhl. *Kūndag*, in *JRAS.* 1924, p. 224 n. 4 (reprinted below in Study VII).

<sup>4</sup> a 2. *āgūst 'ūd gīšt*: in BkPhl., *āgūstan*, 'to tie, bind,' occurs several times; cf. also Sm. p. 39 bot. Bartholomae, *ZumAirWb.*, p. 27 n. 1, connects *gīšt* ('uriran. \**uišta*<sup>o</sup>') with Skt. *paḍvīśa-*, *paḍbīśa-* (*b* var. for *v*) 'fetter,' and Lat. *vincire*; this derivation would assure the correctness of Mü.'s 'gefesselt' and dispose of the question raised by Sm. p. 64 mid.

<sup>5</sup> a 4. *'ūšān*: that is 'ū-šān, 'and these (Dragons).' For the 'and' particle with the enclit. pron. (-šān) see the long note by Bthl. *ZumAirWb.*, p. 87-90.

<sup>6</sup> a 5. *anp(?)sp̄n*: Müller marks his decipherment of this word as uncertain, owing especially to the fact that the word has been corrected in the manuscript itself. So also Sm. *MStud.* i. 16, referring to re-collation sent him by Müller. Without being able to offer a satisfactory etymology I would suggest that the meaning may be 'firmament(?)'—see next note.

<sup>7</sup> a 5. *gardanīdan rāī*: 'in order to cause to revolve.' As also in Zoroastrianism (see *Zāt-sparam*, i. 22, transl. E. W. West, *SBE.* 5. p. 159) the celestial bodies, when created, stood still until they were set in revolution. According to Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 8 (7). i, ed. Beeson, p. 11, 'the Living Spirit formed the luminaries (*φωστῆρας*), which are the remnants of the (primal) soul, and thus made the firmament revolve (*ἐποίησε τὸ στερέωμα κυκλεῦσαι*).' This function was assigned to the Third Messenger according to Theodore bar Khoni, tr. Pognon, p. 190, and Augustine, *De Nat. Boni*, 46 (*polum movet*), cf. *Contra Faust.* 6. 8 (*cum coelum rotari coepisset*). See Cumont, *Rech.* i. p. 37 n. 3. In describing the Manichaean account of creation at the command of the King of the Light-World, Ibn al-Murtaḍā (tr. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 353 ll. 11-12) goes on to say: 'He created the firmaments and charged an angel to set them in motion.' Our present passage implies that the burden of keeping the firmament in rotation was imposed upon the two Dragons (or Archons) that are mentioned, but not by name.

<sup>8</sup> a 7. [¶] '*Ū-šān dūdī*: 'And those (Elements?) furthermore' etc. In support of beginning a new paragraph here we may adduce the double punctuation o o — o o before this sentence which we have taken as referring to using in the cosmic process some of the original Elements, left below after Primal Man's rescue. From non-Manichaean accounts of the creation of the Cosmos we should naturally expect some allusion at this point to the primordial elements, and they may have been described in the missing pages that preceded. At any rate it is certain from lines a 9-17 and 18-24, that we have the five (including the subtler *pravahrēn*, 'ethereal') referred to as employed in the construction of the Sun, Moon, and their concomitant features. Hence the decision finally reached to interpret the enclitic pron. -*šān* here as referring by implication to 'those (Elements).' The

suggestion originally for this interpretation I owe to my former student and always friend and fellow-worker, Dr. Charles J. Ogden.—Concerning the component words ('*ū* 'and' + *šān* 'them') which make up '*ūšān* (Müller '*ōšān*) see above, and cf. a 4., Bthl. p. 63 n., 67 n., 87 n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> a 7. *vīmand*: the well-known primordial Border where Light and Darkness touched upon each other before the invasion from the dark side.

<sup>10</sup> a 8. *aḥrāpt*: cf. Frag. S. 9 b 28 (p. 81), '*ūl aḥrāpt* '*ō vaḥīšt*, 'led on upward to Paradise.' This verb is technically used in Manichaeism for the leading on (*aḥ*-=*ati*-) and finally up ('*ūl*) to the supernal heaven of the released particles of light, cf. note below on b 2 end. Similarly, the noun *aḥrāmīšn* is the term employed to denote Mānī's elevation to heaven after his martyrdom.—For its etymological formation consult Bthl. p. 63 n. 1 and \*\*.

<sup>11</sup> a 8-9. *vā* etc.: 'and (he made and arranged)'; the verbs *qērd* '*ūd vīrāst*, which are thus rendered at this point in the translation, stand in the original at the end of the long sentence, which extends to a 24; they are used alike of creating and adjusting the Sun and the Moon.

<sup>12</sup> a 10. *pārūd*: the well-known verb referring to the separation and clarification of the Light particles that had become mixed with Darkness and needed to be purified; see, for example, the notes to follow below on b 2 (*pārūyīšn*) and b 4 (*pārūd*, in an extended sense). Philologically we may compare NP. *pārūdan*, 'to throw out with a shovel,' i.e. to separate, winnow, and *pālūdan*, 'to strain, filter, purify' (Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.*, p. 230, 233); cf. furthermore, Bthl. p. 36, ll. 13-14, and Sm. *MStud.* 1. p. 109. For the general idea, cf. likewise below, Study VI § 6-7 (text and translation of BkPhl. Shikand).—As for the context here we may consider the Fihrist (tr. Flügel, p. 89, with note 129) and observe such other non-Manichaean sources as the early fourth century Greek critic of Manichaeism, Alexander of Lycopolis, ch. 3 (ed. Brinkmann, p. 6, ll. 6-16) who records the Manichaean doctrine that the Sun and the Moon were formed 'at the beginning' (*πρῶτον*) out of the 'mixture' (*μίξεως*). Even as early, or earlier, the *Acta Archelai*, ch. 8. 1 (ed. Beeson, p. 11) alludes to the Living Spirit as having formed 'the luminaries' (*φωστῆρας*) which are remnants (*λείψανα*) of the [Primal] Soul.'

<sup>13</sup> a ii. *raḥē*: this word (cf. Av. *raθa-*, 'wagon, chariot') is here used explicitly in connection with the Sun and the Moon. Müller (p. 38) hesitatingly renders by '\*Fahrzeuge(?)', i.e. 'vehicles,' and refers (n. 2, 3) to the expression 'ships' (*naves*) in Augustine, *De Haeres.* 46, and to 'the two great ships,' namely, the sun and the moon, in Abū'l-Faraj (Bar-Hebraeus), see Flügel, *Mani*, p. 225, 234, and Kessler, p. 357 top. To these references a number may be added. Thus now, TPhl. *nāv rōšan*, 'Ship of Light,' in Mü. p. 52 bot.; and also *nāvrōšan*, 'Ship of Light,' in Maḥrnāmag, line 281 (Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt*, p. 21). Compare likewise *Acta Arch.* 13. 2, *πλοῖα* (Lat. version *navi*), used of both the lesser and greater lights. See, furthermore, Theodore bar Khoni, tr. Pognon, p. 189, and below, p. 237 bot., if we accept the reading *elḫē*, 'ships,' instead of *alpā*, 'thousand,' cf. Cumont (Kugener), *Rech.*, 1. 29 n. 5. Besides this compare 'that Ship of Light' (the Moon) in S. Ephraim, tr. Mitchell, 1. p. xxxvi. Incidentally observe Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 66. 9 *σκάφος* and *πλοῖα* ('vessel' and 'ships'), cf. also Theodoret, *Haeret. Fab.* 1. 26, and Flügel, *Mani*, p. 231. The ferrying function of the Moon and the Sun is well known through Gk., Lat. and Arabic texts. If one may assume that the basic idea in *raḥē* (sg. abstract for plur. with *dō*) is that of some means of transport, it would be natural etymologically to compare Av. *raθa-*, Skt. *ratha-*, 'vehicle, chariot,' as used of the Sun, etc., since Vedic times. In this special connection see Mü. p. 18, line 4, *Mīḥryazd aḥ raḥ[ē] 'ī] xvarxšēd*, 'the god Mithra from the vehicle of the Sun,' where *raḥē* is definitely used of the place, or means of transport, occupied by the genius presiding over the sun. (No consideration can yet be given to a possible idea of connecting *raḥē* with NP. *rahī*, 'traveler,' because of semantic difficulties).—But a new suggestion has been made by Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees* (1925), p. 108-109, to interpret *raḥē* as 'the Orbits or Roads' along which the Sun and Moon are made to travel. He emphasizes that these 'paths' must be bounded by heavenly walls. In such case we might etymologically connect *raḥē* with Av. *raiθya-*, Skt. *rathyā-*, 'a wagon-road,' and NP. *rāh* (less often *rāh*), 'road.' But to Burkitt's view may be objected that the orbs (*not* the orbits) are the real factors concerned; and long delibera-

tion has led to rejecting this otherwise attractive suggestion.—In any case it must not be overlooked that the Turkish Confession Prayer interprets the *rahē*-image as 'camps' (*ordu*), see Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 283-284 and Bang, *Muséon*, 36. p. 216 n. 2, while later Le Coq, *Manichaica*, 1. 29 still more definitely translates *yaruq ordu* (recalling the Chinese) by 'beide lichten Paläste' since plainly the Sun and the Moon (not their orbits) are prayed to. In this connection it should be noted that the Chinese Manichaean Treatise renders the term in question by 'palace' (Chinese, *kong*), see Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911. p. 516, 552, in which event the five walls, twelve doors, three thrones (rather than stations) and the five angels of lines 12-17 and 19-23 would have a particular, though slightly different, significance.—On the whole, therefore, it would seem from the Western interpreters (Lat., Gk., Syr., Arab.) of Mānī's image and from the TPhl. text itself that *rahē* meant some sort of transport vehicle. The round tub-like 'gufas' that still are the native means of crossing the Tigris and Euphrates may have furnished Mānī with the picture for those celestial orbs that glide across the heavens. Remember Epiphanius *loc. cit.* above, who uses first *σκάφος*, orig. 'a dug out or hollowed tub,' then 'vessel,' which he further amplifies by 'ships' (*πλοῖα*). If this suggestion should prove correct, the Turkish and Chinese ideas of camps or palaces were an Eastern interpretation, due to less familiarity in Central Asian deserts with early navigation. Perhaps the publication of some other Fragment may one day help to throw more light on this question.

[Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus* (1926), p. 49, now make available two passages from the London Manichaean Hymn-roll in Chinese. The first of these (127), a stanza of four lines, they translate as: (a) 'Und wir rufen an: Sonne und Mond, die L i c h t p a l ä s t e , (b) die Wohnstätte aller Götter der drei Schöpfungen, (c) die sieben und die zwölf grossen S c h i f f s h e r r e n , (d) samt der Menge aller übrigen Lichter.' The second passage (line 390, cf. also p. 123) likewise contains a mention of the 'Sonnen- und Mondpalast, die beiden Lichtschlösser.' Regarding the interchange of the palace and ship images, W. and L. merely remark that 'die Bilder von den "Palästen" und den "Schiffen" wechseln.' As to the occupants respectively, consult their comments on p. 50 bot.]

<sup>14</sup> a 12. *ādūr 'ūd rōšan*: the connection of fire and light with the Sun is natural here and in line 17; below in line 18 (cf. also l. 23) we have the Moon associated with wind and water. According to the Fihrist (tr. Flügel, p. 90 and n. 130) 'the Sun purified the light which was mixed with the hot demons, and the Moon the light that was mixed with the cold demons.' Similarly Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 191; tr. Haarbrücker, I. p. 289. Especially to be recalled is the reference in Augustine, *De Haeres.* 46 (Migne, vol. 42 col. 35, lines 45-46) where the Manichaean statement is quoted that the Sun was made *ex igne bono*, and the Moon, *ex bona aqua*.

<sup>15</sup> a 12. *pad*: here rendered by Müller as 'mit' and above by 'with'; but the meaning 'besides, in addition to' is also possible for *pad* (Av. *paiti*, Skt. *prati*) if that would help the interpretation.

<sup>16</sup> a 12. *pari[sṭ + o —]*: so for *pari/////*, from line 19 *parīsṭ o —*, including the punctuation mark. This is the first of the mentions of various walls in the Fragment.

<sup>17</sup> a 13-14. *pravaḥrēn . . . ādūrēn*: the elements are mentioned in their well-known order and are here to be connected only indirectly with *Acta Arch.* 13. 2.

<sup>18</sup> a 14-15. *dvāz[d]ah dar, mān panz, gāh seh*: cf. below, lines 21-22; furthermore c 11-12, *dvāzdah dar*, and recall the 'twelve doors' or 'gates' (*lbārtā, lbārā*) in the Turfan (Soghd.) Fragment printed in Mü. 2. 97, cf. Fihrist, tr. Flügel, p. 89. The expression 'twelve doors' sounds astronomical (cf. the Zodiac), but the 'five mansions' of the Sun are not clear in that case, see note above on line 11. The word *gāh* (Av. *gātu-*) is transl. by Mü. as 'Thronen,' which it may be; but it may equally mean, 'place, position,' or special 'station,' perhaps the points of rising, culmination and setting as places where the orbs were especially enthroned. [It seems best now, cf. Waldschmidt and Lentz, *JRAS.* 1926, p. 120, to interpret the 'Three Thrones' as belonging respectively to Mīhr, the Mother of Life, and the Living Spirit, which were the chief three among the divine beings that dwelt in the Sun. These two German scholars, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 50, mid., regard the 'Twelve Doors' to be the signs of the Zodiac, as I had already intimated]. One might suggest that the 'Five Mansions' were the abodes of the 'five soul-gathering Angels,' since five are

mentioned here as connected with the Sun, and five also below (a 21, cf. notes 23 and 26) in connection with the Moon, even though the astronomical aspect does not seem clear.

<sup>19</sup> a 16. *ravānčīn prēstag panz* (or *panf*): 'the five soul-gathering Angels,' i.e. those who collect the released particles of light that are ultimately separated from the evil elements in man's earthly make-up. The context here and in line 22 shows that five of these angels exercise their functions in the Sun, and five in the Moon (to be discussed elsewhere). This is the familiar Manichaeon doctrine, well known through outside sources. In the documents themselves it is referred to likewise in the Petrograd Frag. S. 7 d 7, *prēstagān ravānčīnān*, 'the soul-gathering Angels' (Salemman, *Manichaica* 3. p. 5 transl. below, Study IV), associated with the Divinities (*ba'ān*) and the exalted Elements (*mahrēspandān*) in receiving the spirit into the life hereafter. The epithet *ravānčīn* is likewise applied in the Hermas allegory M. 97 d 18 (= Müller, *Hermasstelle*, p. 1080), *k[ē] pad vīsp zamān xūb 'ūd xvaš rāz 'ūd r a v ā n č ī n hēnd*, 'who at all times are good and of excellent counsel (cf. N.P. *xūš-rāz*) and gathering (the light particles of) the soul.' The idea of these angels that gather the souls of the pious is found likewise in the Turkish texts; for example see Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. p. 15, l. 20, *ölügüg turgürügli ai tngrii*, 'the Moon God who assembles the dead'; cf. also Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. p. 24 ll. 27-28, where a similar phrase occurs concerning the Moon; furthermore in a Fragment T. M. 327. a, which is written in Turkish runic script but contains a number of Persian terms and phrases, we find *ravānčīnān frēštagān*, 'soul-gathering angels,' see Le Coq, *Sb. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.* 1909 (vol. 41), p. 1053, re-edited by Salemman, *Manichaica*, 3. p. 30. Perhaps the same notion is referred to in T. M. 291, Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. p. 7 bot. Furthermore compare the eleventh section of the Turkish Khuastuanift (lines 223-224), transl. Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 294; Bang, *Muséon*, 36. 160-161, 216. [We may add that several allusions in Chinese to these five soul-gathering angels as the 'five gathering Lights' and the 'five gathering Light-messengers' are found in the above-mentioned Manichaeon hymnal from Tun Huang, as remarked by Waldschmidt and Lentz, *JRAS.* 1926, p. 120 n. 3 (cf. p. 299); see id.



*Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 119 bot., 120 mid. and note 4.] The derivation of the adj. *ravānēin* is certainly from *ravān*, 'soul' (BkPhl. *rūbān*, Av. *urvan*) and the verbal radical which is found in Av. *či-*, 'to gather, collect,' TPhl. *čīdan*, Skt. *ci-*.—From the standpoint of syntax no special comment need be made on sg. *prēstag*, with *panz* (*panf*) in our passage as contrasted with pl. *prēstagān* in the other passage above cited (where no numeral occurs) because of the common employment in Iranian of sg. for pl. when accompanied by a defining numeral.

<sup>20</sup> a 17. *ādbēn* (sic! for *ādūrēn*): instead of *ādbēn* (although so corrected (?) in the manuscript) we must certainly read *ādūrēn*, 'fiery;' similarly Sm. *MStud.* p. 16; hence 'within the fiery wall.' See note above on line 12, and cf. line 23 below.

<sup>21</sup> a 18. *vād vā āb*: consult note 14 above, on a 12.

<sup>22</sup> a 19-20. *pravaḥrēn . . . ābēn*: see note above on a 13-14, and observe that *ābēn* 'watery' here is purposely reserved for the last on account of the Moon's connection with the waters.

<sup>23</sup> a 21. *čahārdah dar* etc.: the fourteen doors must symbolize the fourteen (more properly fifteen) days of the lunar half month. [Consult now further (1926) Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung*, p. 101 mid., with note 5, and cf. p. 50 mid., for a Chinese allusion (in H. 22 d) to 'the t w i c e f o u r t e e n and the twelve p a l a c e s.' The 'Three Thrones' in the Moon were occupied by Jesus, the Light Maiden, and the Manūhmēd. Compare, furthermore, note 18 above, on lines a 14-15.]

<sup>24</sup> a 24. *gērd 'ūd vīrāst*: for the position of these two verbs at the end of the long sentence see the note 11 above on lines 8-9. Observe that the double punctuation (o o —) in the ms. indicates that the sense is completed. The verb *vīrāst* occurs again below, d 23, see note there.

<sup>25</sup> a 24. *'ūšā/////*: possibly read *'ūšā[n + dūdī]*, cf. line 7 above, to fill up the broken line, 'And the[se furthermore] he etc.' or else 'Elements' is to be understood (cf. next note and the remarks above on a 7-10).

<sup>26</sup> a 25. */////* etc.: the entire line is lost at the bottom of the leaf. It would be a mere venture to supply this by some such idea as 'he enveloped (*andar pēmōxt*, lit. 'clothed within') the Sun and the Moon (or else the purified Five Elements) in coverings,'

compare the lines directly following, namely b 1-4 (and see notes there). In Theodore bar Khoni (tr. Pognon, p. 189, 13-14 and also below, Study VIII, p. 240) the 'covering' (Syr. *maškbā*) made for the Three Wheels (cf. below, n. 30) seems also to 'serve the Five Luminous Gods (i.e. Elements) so that they may not be burned by the venom of the Archons.'

#### Notes on M. 98 b 1-25

<sup>27</sup> b 1. *andar pēmōxt*: lit. 'he clothed within,' i.e. 'enveloped' or 'inclosed.' See the preceding note and those following. The double punctuation (o o —) after *pēmōxt* would seem to denote that '*ūšān* . . . *pēmōxt* constituted a complete paragraph.

<sup>28</sup> b 1. *//// dūdī Mīhryazd*: Müller remarks 'korrigiert!' under *////*. Possibly the scribe merely intended to indicate that space was to be left vacant. Salemann (*MStud.* p. 16) designates it as a lacuna. If so, we might fill in by [*Gahī*] etc. comparing Mü. p. 18 l. 4 *Gahī dūdī Mīhryazd*. If not so, supply simply '*ūd*, 'and.' A facsimile reproduction of the ms. folio would allow one to decide as to the nature of the lacuna.—As for the syntax, *Mīhryazd* is strictly the subject and *pēmōg seh* is secondary object with the past pass. ptcl. *pēmōxt* in line 4 (the agent being the Living Spirit). In the translation given above, the TPhl. passive construction has been turned into the active as usual. Salemann (*MStud.* p. 50) translates *Mīhryazd* . . . *pēmōxt* by, 'ferner hat Mihr-yazd . . . drei Kleider an getan,' as if the word were used quasi-reflexively.

<sup>29</sup> b 2. *aš ham pārāyišn*: 'from the same separation (purification).' The special addition of *ham* 'same' would seem to indicate that there was some implied allusion to the separation and keeping pure in the lost line (a 25) previously mentioned. The word *pārāyišn* is the familiar term used to denote the purification resulting through the separation of the Light particles which had been contaminated by Darkness. Compare in BkPhl. (Pāzand) Shikand-Gūmānīg Vizhār, 16. 22, see below, Study VI, note 18 (§ 22), *aharāmišni u pālāišni*, see Müller, 2. p. 38 n. 1; Salemann, *MStud.* p. 109 top.

<sup>30</sup> b 3. *pēmōg seh* etc.: these Three Coverings (or 'garments'), as formed of the wind, water and fire to clothe the Sun God, are to be identified with the Three Garments ('les trois vêtements,'

Chinese *san yi*) which the Chinese Manichaean Treatise, in its account of creation, mentions directly after the Sun, Moon, and eight earths, and immediately before the Three Wheels ('les trois roues,' *san luen*): see *JA*. 1911, p. 516, with Chavannes and Pelliot's notes. A well-known but difficult passage in the Syriac writer Theodore bar Khoni throws some sidelight on the matter, since he refers to a 'covering' (Syr. *maškbā*, lit. 'bed, couch, mattress,' hence presumably 'covering, coverlet, canopy') placed for protection over 'the Wheels (of) the Wind, Water, and Fire' (see Pognon, text p. 129, transl. p. 189; also the translation and notes by Cumont, *Recherches*, 1. p. 31-32, who was aided by M. A. Kugener; likewise my Assistant, the late Dr. A. Yohannan, of Columbia University, made for me a careful translation of this whole Syriac passage, see below, Study VIII, p. 240). As the Wheels, however, are not mentioned here, though found in a Turkish Fragment as well as in St. Augustine, a discussion of that particular subject is kept for another occasion.

<sup>31</sup> **b 4.** *pārūd*, etc.: see note above on *pārūd* in a 10, where the word is used in its primary meaning, while here it is employed in its sense as denoting that which remains after the cleansing; it is that gross material which, 'separated (from Light), sank down to the Dark Earth.' The interpretation is rendered certain by a passage in the Greek writer Alexander of Lycopolis, chap. 3 (ed. Brinkmann, p. 6, ll. 13-14; consult also B's observation on the syntax of the relative *ἧς*). This early fourth century author, when arguing against the Manichaean account of creation, says that according to Manes: 'The part of Matter (i.e. Darkness) from which Sun and Moon were separated (*τῆς οὖν ὕλης ἧς ἀπεκρίθησαν . . . τὸ μέρος*) was cast away (*ἀπεληλάσθαι*, perf.) outside the Cosmos; and that part is a fire, burning but like unto darkness and without light, resembling night.' The Greek phrase (*τὸ μέρος ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἀπεληλάσθαι*) not only parallels the idea in our TPhl. text (*pārūd 'ō tār zamīg 'ōxēst*), but the concluding clause recognizes also the eternal perdition to which this discarded portion was condemned according to the Manichaean tenets. Various terms are employed by non-Manichaean writers to designate this coagulated residue, such as 'lump or clod, globular mass, knotted

stuff' (Gk. Syr. *Bōlos*, Lat. *Globus*, Arab. *Mun'aqid*) as a collection of the passages (to be published later) will show; the descriptions contain a further idea of the Manichaean dogma implied in our *pārūd* etc. Salemann, *MStud.* p. 50 top, wrongly refers *pārūd*, as a participial adj., to Miḥryazd, instead of taking it here pregnantly as a noun.

<sup>32</sup> b 5. 'ōxēst: Müller doubtfully (but correctly) renders by ' \* sank herab'; see also Bartholomae, *WZKM.* 25. 257, 'stieg herab'; both are more accurate than the rendering suggested by Andreas (in *Mü.* 2. p. 111), 'er (der Sonnengott) liess fallen die Rückstände.' A compound causative 'ōxēst ānād (= 'ōxēst(-) ānād) 'he caused to sink' is found in the Petrograd Frag. S. 9 b 1, see Salemann, *Manichaica*, 3. p. 9, as discussed below in Study III (*ad loc.*).

<sup>33</sup> b 5-6. rāz 'ī vazurg vahīšt 'ī nōg: 'the Mystery of the Great New Paradise.' See Jackson, *JRAS.* (*Centenary Supplement*), October, 1924, p. 148-149 [reprinted below, in Study X], for a discussion of the allusions to this (compare also in connection with 'the New Realm,' *Mü.* 2. p. 17; Frag. M. 2 col. 1, tr. Andreas, in Reitzenstein, *Das Mand. Buch*, p. 26). A study of Manichaean eschatology tends to show that the plan (which was 'a mystery') as designed by the Great Builder Bān was already in the hands of the Living Spirit who, as his agent (*JRAS.* 1924, p. 147), will carry its final execution into effect at the end of the world.

<sup>34</sup> b 6. āpūrīdan: 'to create'; the meaning here is assured, cf. BkPhl. āpūrītan and NP. āfarīdan (see Salemann, *MStud.* 1. 56 bot. and Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.*, p. 82).

<sup>35</sup> b 7. panz kandār 'ī marg: these correspond to the evil 'five caverns of the evil elements,' full of darkness, water, wind, fire, and smoke (*quinque antra elementorum*, etc.) in Augustine, *De Moribus Manich.* 9. 14 (Migne vol. 32, col. 1351) and they are especially alluded to in the Chinese Treatise as the 'five caverns of darkness,' see Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 511, 514 ('cinq gouffres d'obscurité'), 558 (cf. *JA.* 1913, p. 383 n., 'quintuples gouffres obscurs'), 561 ('autres obscurs'); again, under other terms, p. 529 ('les cinq sortes de terrains abîmés,' cf. 1913, p. 383 n.) and p. 559 ('les cinq terres escarpées' or also 'les cinq terres ténébreuses'). It was these latter which the Chinese Treatise (p.

559) says 'le Laboureur... rasa et combla,' adding also 'quand les cinq terres ténébreuses eurent été rasées et ruinées,' thus furnishing a parallel to the idea contained in our passage even though the application in the Chinese is symbolically to the evil nature of man. [Similarly later (1926) cf. Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung*, p. 19 mid. and p. 101, stanza 21]. These Five Caverns may be brought into connection with the 'Five Worlds' of the same dark elements in which the King of Darkness dwells in his Dark Earth, according to Theodore bar Khoni (tr. Pognon, p. 184; tr. Cumont, p. 11 n. 4, and tr. below, Study VIII) or again with the 'Five Members' of Darkness in the Fihrist (tr. Flügel, p. 86 n. 76-79). In our passage the word 'Death' (*marg*) sums up all these evil elements.—The meaning of TPhl. *kandār*, 'cavern, cave' becomes assured when we compare the word etymologically with classical Skt. *kandara*, 'cavern, gulch, ravine.' In support of this equation, which involves the interchange of *ā* and *ă*, we may compare *ā* in Skt. *katāma*, Phl. *katām*, *kaḍām*, 'what sort of,' and NP. *kudām*; or again Av. *astāra*, TPhl. *astār*, 'defilement, sin'; likewise cf. NP. *darmān*, 'medicine,' beside *darmāna*. See furthermore, Horn, *Grundr. iran. Philol.* I. 2. p. 22.2; Salemann, *Grundr.* I. I. p. 271.2; and Bartholomae, *ZumAirWb.* p. 120.

<sup>36</sup> b 7. *hangand*: the root is connected with Av. *kan-*, Skt. *khan-*, 'to dig'; so also Sm. *MStud.* p. 85; cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 437, Av. 2 *kan-*, and his reference to *Grdr. ir. Ph.* I. I. § 13. Furthermore, compare TPhl. *abgandan*, Sm. *MStud.* p. 42 top, and cf. Horn, *Neupers. Etym.* § 103, on NP. *afgandan*, 'to cast away.' Thus, *hangand* would literally mean 'he dug together,' being used here in the sense of 'demolished, destroyed, razed,' recall from the preceding note the Chinese 'rasa et combla' (*JA.* 1911, p. 559). It should be noted that in Avestan (Vd. 7. 14; 9. 30) the verb *hankan-* is used particularly of rubbing or overspreading a defiled garment or vessel with clean earth so as to purify it. Therefore Sm. *MSt.* p. 85 leaves it undecided whether *hangand* means 'zerstörte' or 'überschüttete.' In any case the general import of the action by the Living Spirit is clear.

<sup>37</sup> b 8. *hāmgen* (or *hāmagēn*) *qērd*: 'made alike, same, even or level' (cf. Skt. *sama*, which has also the signification of 'level').

This is certainly the meaning and it is supported by Av. compounds with *hāma*.—The double punctuation in the text after *qērd* shows that the sentence which began with ' *Ūd rāz* (l. 5) is complete. It has seemed best, therefore, to make a new paragraph of what follows, as beginning the account of the creation of the earths, the preparation for which has now been made.

<sup>38</sup> b 8. ' *Ūd hambidīj*: the fashioning of the Eight Earths as offsetting the Heavens (*asmānān*) commences here (cf. preceding note and see p. 24 above).—The word *hambidīj*, 'corresponding to, matching' occurs also below, c 12, d 14; consult Bartholomae, p. 65 n. 1 and Meillet, *Mém. Soc. Ling. de Paris* (1912) 17. 246. The *ī* in *īj* is an anaptyctic connective. Notice that, instead of Müller's final *j*, Salemann (*MStud.* p. 151 top) prefers to transliterate by *č*, taking it as representing that letter in final position.—Observe, moreover, that the punctuation ring, in each of the two lines that follow, is practically equivalent to a comma. Such instances occur elsewhere.

<sup>39</sup> b 10. *nīrāmīšn čahār*: these Four Deposits constitute the four basic Earths formed in the regions cleared below by the Living Spirit over the primordial Dark Earth, which itself extends infinitely downward. Compare M. 472 v. 12 (= Mū. p. 19) where 'those Four Deposits' are called 'the habitation of the Demons.'—For the etymological connection between *nīrāmīšn* and the verb *nīrāpt* (l. 12), see Bthl. p. 64 n.

<sup>40</sup> b 10-11. *hōšāgēn . . . ābēn*: these adjectives refer to four of the five Dark Elements (cf. note above on b 7, *pañz kandār*), namely Evil Wind, Darkness, Evil Fire and Evil Water, as composing the four nether earths. The omission of the fifth dark element, the pestilent congregation of vapors or smoke, need occasion no surprise because this dark substance (which was the antithesis of the light element *pravaḥr*, 'ether, zephyr') was regarded elsewhere in Manichaeism as being relatively more subtle and, therefore, less easily handled than the four other dark elements. It was natural that this group should form the 'four deposits' in making the lowest four earths. The order of the Dark Elements (2, 3, 5, 4) in this TPhl. passage differs slightly from the arrangement found generally in the non-Manichaean sources, although those themselves are not wholly uniform. A

comparative study (with Tables, including such material as we can gather from the Turkish and Chinese Manichæan texts) will show this and will be published elsewhere.—Etymologically the adjective TPhl. *ḥōšāgēn* is to be associated with Av. *aošaḥ*, 'destruction, death,' especially with the fundamental idea of drying up (Skt. root *uṣ-*) contained in Av. *apaoša*, the demon of drought. Hence it is suitable here as indicating the parching wind as one of the five dark elements in Manichæism.

<sup>41</sup> **b 12.** *+niēid*: 'gathered down, collected' (cf. Av. *ēay-*, *ēi-*, Skt. *cī-*).

<sup>42</sup> **ḍ 12.** *nīrāpt*: this verb, as opposed to *aḥrāpt* 'led up' in a 8 (*q.v.*) is a technical term for leading down again to darkness the grosser matter out of which the light particles had been filtered. Cf. also end of the note 39, on b 10, just above.

<sup>43</sup> **b 13.** *parīsp* 'ēv, etc.: 'one wall,' etc.: This principal wall is the first of a number of circumvallations to be constructed in connection with the several earths, and it is of fundamental importance. According to a statement in another Fragment (see Mū. 2. p. 18 bot.), the Mānbēd (Atlas, cf. below) stood on the 'lowest earth,' i.e. of the four formed from the 'four deposits,' all of which contained dark elements, so that a great rampart was needed to protect these nether earths from any further addition to their evil substances through a renewed invasion by the powers of Darkness. From the passage here under consideration we know that this huge bulwark started from the Light Earth, which is in the north of the heavens according to Mānī, and ran along the three other quarters, and thence back again to the Earth of Light. It is referred to as the 'outermost wall' in d 2, and next to it in importance is the 'one other wall' mentioned in b 21, which forms with it the two main ramparts among the total number (consult the notes below on b 21, c 23, d 2 and compare the quotation given from the Fihrist in the next note). Apparently it is this particular bulwark that is recognized by the Christian polemicists against Manichæism. See Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai* (Lat. version, *murus*), 27 (24), ed. Beeson, p. 39; also Titus of Bostra (*ρέλος*), 1. 9-11, ed. Lagarde, p. 5-6; compare indirectly Ephraim Syrus, transl. Mitchell, 1. p. xlv, xlvii, lxxiii; similarly the Syriac writer Severus of Antioch, tr.

Kugener and Cumont, *Recherches*, 2. 103 ff. Furthermore, from the Muhammadan sources, it is apparently the same as the special wall whose construction is mentioned in the Fihrist in connection with the account of creation (see quotation in the next note). In addition to these numerous references we may recall the existence of a kindred doctrine in Zoroastrianism, where a 'bulwark' (*darpūstīh*) constructed against Ahriman is referred to in the Sasanian Phl. *Selections of Zāt-spāram*, 5. 1-2, transl. West, *SBE*. 5. p. 167. As much space as can be afforded is given to these various sets of 'walls' in the notes below.

<sup>44</sup> **b 13-17.** *aḡ rōšan zamīg . . . 'ōbāyenīd . . . ḡangāpt*: according to the Fihrist (tr. Flügel, p. 89 bot., and cf. p. 224 mid.) 'Mānī says: he (i.e. the Angel = Living Spirit) connected the Air (= the Light Earth) with the Heavens at (to?) the lowest of the Earths and made a moat around this world in order to throw into it the Darkness which is distilled from the Light, and behind that moat he made a Wall so that nothing of that Darkness which is separated from Light should get out.'—The general sense of our TPhl. *'ōbāyenīd* is clear. Müller hesitatingly rendered as '\*aufgeführt,' adding later (p. 111) the suggestion of Andreas, 'gelangen lassen' as a causat. from *i + ūpa* (Middle Iranian *awa*). This etymology (particularly the prefix *ūpa*) was questioned by Bartholomae, *Zum Airwāb*. p. 72 n. (and 189 top) and *WZKM*. 29. 18-19, who suggested comparing Skt. *avapadyate*: although later (*Mitteliran. Mundarten*, 4. p. 18 n. 4) he allows the possibility of *ūpa* but in any case connects the radical element with the root *pad*. This is doubtless etymologically correct. Furthermore, for the verb *ḡangāpt* (cf. *ham + gam-*) see Sm. *MStud*. p. 85 top, and Bthl. p. 64 n.

<sup>45</sup> **b 16.** *abāḡ 'ō*: 'back to, again to.' The same phrase is found also in M. 3. 12 (= Mü. p. 80 bot.), M. 97 a 19 (= Mü. *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1078, *Sitzb. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.* Berlin, 1905).

<sup>46</sup> **b 17.** *anī . . . 'ēv*: the pronoun *anī* 'other,' with the numeral 'ēv, 'one,' here shows that another great earth (V) was placed down over the first four terrestrial 'Deposits.' Similarly in ll. 21-22, *anī parīsp 'ēv*, 'one other great wall' matches the earlier 'one wall' (*parīsp 'ēv*, line 13) which was previously created. The interpretation of this earth as the fifth seems



therefore assured. We may remark in passing that the next one created (VI) is called 'one earth, great and firm' in c 10-11.

<sup>47</sup> b 19. *nīsād*: thus to be corrected for Mü.'s misprint -ād, cf. Sm. *MStud.* p. 16, with n. 3, for Müller's re-collation; also see below, c 24 *nīsād* in the same sense. Salemann, *MStud.* p. 100, gives the infin. as *nīsādan*, 'legen, stellen,' comparing Judaeo-Pers. *nīsādan*, and remarks that the s, here for h in TPhl. \**niḥādan* (p. 98), points to an older θ. For comments on Sm.'s view see Bartholomae, *WZKM.* (1915) 29. 44. [Also later, by Lentz, *Zt.f. Ind. u. Iran.*, 4. 297.]

<sup>48</sup> b 19-20. 'ōē *pramānagēn yazd abar Mānbēd qērd*: the translation above seems fully justified so far as sense and construction ('ōē . . . *abar*) are concerned. Compare M. 482 v. 10-12 (Mü. p. 17) [*hān*] 'ērdōm *zamīg kē hān mānbēd 'ūd vād-ahrām yazd abar 'ēstēnd*, 'that lowest earth upon which the M. and V. god(s) stand,' where *abar* is clearly a preposition governing the relative *kē*. Less good would be to suggest as an alternate, 'he made that commanding god above (*abar*) as the Mānbēd.' In any case we must remember that the Mānbēd (Omophorus, Atlas) stands upon the lowest earth (*abar hān 'ērdōm zamīg 'ēst[ēd]*—see Mü. 2. p. 18 bot.) which I interpret to mean at the very lowest of the four 'deposits' of earths and that his towering though stooping form reaches up from the depths to the lowest of the ten heavens and keeps the physical world in order. The Chinese Manichaean Treatise calls him Ti-tsang, 'Entrails of the Earth,' which Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 549 n. 5, take as indicating his presence below the eight earths ('sous les huit terres'). See also notes 64, 65 below, on c 17, 18-21. Theodore bar Khoni (tr. Pognon, p. 188-9; Cumont, p. 26; also below, Study VIII, p. 236) represents the 'Supporter' (*Sābhlā*) as 'kneeling upon one knee' and supporting the earth. So also Augustine, *Contr. Faust.* 15. 6.

<sup>49</sup> b 20. *abar ham zamīg*: compare below, c 13-15, *abar ham zamīg . . . kērd*, in connection with Earth VI.

<sup>50</sup> b 21. *anī parīsp 'ēv*: this 'other' wall, raised 'on' (*abar*) Earth V and 'within' (*andarōn*), i.e. within the first, already mentioned (b 13), which is later spoken of as the 'outermost wall' (d 2), was the second great bulwark, the first having already

been mentioned (b 13 and d 2); together they are the main 'two walls' *parīsp dō*, alluded to below in c 23.

<sup>51</sup> b 22. *tarē*: 'across,' cf. Av. *tarō*, G. Av. *tarē*, Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 641; Salemann, *MStud.* p. 129.

<sup>52</sup> b 23. *pad ham seh kēšvar*: 'in the same three quarters' (i.e., east, south, and west).

<sup>53</sup> b 24. *tāg*: cf. also below, c 22 (and n. 68) *tāgān*, 'arches, vaults' and compare NP. *tāg*, 'arch, vaulted passage.' For a theoretic reconstruction of these columns, arches and the wall see DIAGRAM below, facing p. 74. For sg. *tāg* with numeral (as contrasted with *tāgān*), see end of note on a 16. Furthermore observe that Simplicius (first half of 6th cent. A.D.), writing in Greek a commentary upon the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus, refers evidently to the Manichaeans as holding that the 'columns' were to be understood in a literal sense; see Simplicius, *Comment. in Enchirid.* chap. 27, p. 71 (= col. 165-167), ed. Dübner, Paris, 1840; cf. also Beausobre, *Hist. du Manichéisme*, 2. p. 311, 371.

<sup>54</sup> [b 25, line defaced]: supply the lacuna by [*pratōmīn aḡ parīsp sar 'ī pad*] *xvarparān*. This restoration can easily be made from the text of the eight lines that follow (c 1-8, esp. line 7-8) in M. 99.

#### Notes on M. 99 c 1-25

<sup>55</sup> c 8-10. *hān 'ī panz[ō]m vazurg* etc.: this fifth arch, the 'great' one, formed an extra long span from the eastern to the western column. See Diagram p. 74, Earth V.

<sup>56</sup> c 9. *xvarās*/: consult preceding note. Since this long span was evidently sprung from the eastern column and stretched westward, it would seem probably better to restore the broken word as *xvarās[ānīg]*, 'eastern,' although *xvarās[ān]*, 'east' (which Mü. gives) would also suit as an abridged form of expression. Also Salemann, *MStud.* I. 17 top, proposes *xvarās[ānīg]*, as I do.

<sup>57</sup> c 11. *dvāzdah dar*: these 'Twelve Gates' of Earth VI appear to imply an additional wall, although it is not specifically mentioned; they may, however, have been inserted in the outermost of the special four walls which enclose the three Moats (c 15) respectively. Cf. Diagram, p. 74, but not quite certain.

<sup>58</sup> c 12. *'ī hambidīf*: see note on b 8 above.

<sup>59</sup> c 12-13. *asmānān dar*: these twelve heavenly gates or doors (twelve in each heaven) are especially alluded to in the 'Dialect' (Soghdian) Fragment, Mü. 2. p. 97 and in the Fihrist, tr. Flügel, p. 89. In this connection, although only indirectly, we may refer also to Study IX n. 18.

<sup>60</sup> c 13. *abar ham zamīq*: the same phrase is used above in connection with Earth V, see b 20, note.

<sup>61</sup> c 14. *+pērāmōn*: for the ending *-ōn*, see Bartholomae, *Mitteliran. Mundarten*, 5. p. 28 n. 1.

<sup>62</sup> c 14-15. *čahār parīsp 'ūd seh pārgēn*: 'four Walls and three Moats.' The signification of each word is certain, and the sense is clear that the walls of Earth VI shut the three moats respectively within their circumvallation. The Chinese Treatise (JA. 1911, p. 517, 526) alludes twice to this construction in a general manner: first, when it mentions (p. 517) 'les trois calamités' [?], 'les quatre cours à enceintes de fer' in connection with the forming of the macrocosm; and again, slightly abridged, when it refers (p. 526) to 'les trois calamités [?] et les quatre enceintes,' applied symbolically in connection with the creation of man, the microcosm. Chavannes and Pelliot rightly pointed out (p. 517 n. 2) that the 'four courts with enclosures of iron' (*i'ie-wei sseu-yuan*) or simply the 'four enclosures' (*ssau-wei*) of the Chinese are certainly to be equated with the 'four walls' (*čahār parīsp*) in our Turfan Fragment, and they fully recognized the parallelism which exists between the 'three calamities' (*san-tsai*) in the Chinese and the 'three moats' (*seh pārgēn*) of the Turfan. As for the meaning of *san-tsai*, which in both cases immediately precedes the four walls, they support their translation as 'les trois calamités' by citing (p. 518 bot.) from Buddhism 'the three great calamities' (fire, water, wind) as destructive in the cosmic order, and 'the minor calamities' (famine, pestilence, massacre) which befall man, the microcosm; they add from Mandaicism 'three catastrophes' (sword and pestilence, fire, flood). At the same time (p. 518 n. lines 12-14) they remark that the text may be faulty and that instead of *san-tsai*, 'trois calamités' one should read *san-hiue*, 'trois fosses,' which would correspond approximately to the Turfan *seh pārgēn*, 'three moats.' The resemblance between

the Chinese characters in the word *tsai* for 'calamities' and those in *hiue* for 'moats' would render such a textual emendation not only attractive but plausible. Perhaps the discovery of some other Chinese Manichaean text may settle this question so ably discussed by the two French translators who prefer to abide by 'calamités.' In any case the moats must have been designed for holding some sort of evil and destructive forces, since the inner one was used to confine the demons; see also my note below on *āhrēvar*, d 21-22.—As for the meaning of Iranian *pārgēn*, 'moats' in our present passage, and in d 6 below, there is no question, see Hübschmann, *Pers. Studien*, p. 35. [W. and L., *Die Stellung*, p. 112 bot., give an Iranian passage that alludes to 'the moat (*pārgēn*) which is full of terror [and dread of] the shackling (*δarz*, cf. Av. *darōza*-) of the attacking demons.' For other triads besides those cited above from the Chinese Treatise, we may now refer to the 'three poisonous sprouts' and the 'three poisonous bonds' in the Chinese Hymn to Jesus, H. stanzas 22a, 31a, W. and L., *Die Stellung*, p. 101, 103.]

<sup>63</sup> c 16-17. *andar parzīd*: 'he fastened inside'; see note 2 above, on a 1.

<sup>64</sup> c 17-21. *'ūd + 'ērdōm asmān abar sar* etc.: this passage (and a good deal that follows) is extremely difficult, so that the translation and interpretation must be regarded as provisional. There is no doubt that the lines, down to c 24, refer to the office of the well known world-sustaining god who is variously termed Atlas, Omophoros, Sabbāla or *Sāb<sup>h</sup>lā* ('supporter') in the non-Manichaean sources and referred to as the demon *Kūndag* in an anti-Manichaean Pahlavi book, but below (line 24) and elsewhere in the TPhl. texts as *Mānbēd*, lit. 'Lord of the House.' (Consult Cumont, p. 22-29, 69-75; Jackson, *JRAS*. 1924, p. 224 and notes in *JAOS*. (1923) 43, p. 24-25; for the idea in the Chinese Treatise see *JA*. 1911, p. 549 n. 5, cf. my note above on b 19-20.) He is represented as kneeling upon one knee and supporting upon his head and shoulders the heavens, which he holds firm in his mighty grasp. Our own passage begins by describing how the Living Spirit set the lowest heaven (line 17) on his head and in his hand and then placed Earth Six (apparently resting on the columns and arches of Earth Five itself and the two

principal walls) upon his shoulders (?) at lines 23-24, where he is called the Mānbēd. [See also now Study XI, below].

<sup>65</sup> c 18-21. *pad dast 'īš ačīš gīrd . . . 'īstēnād*: the context (see preceding note) indicates that the Living Spirit 'set the lowest heaven upon the head and in (*pad*) the hand of etc.' I would c o n s t r u e the v e r b '*īstēnād*, 'he set' (line 21) directly with '*ērdōm asmān*, 'lowest heaven' (line 17) and r e p e a t its force again with '*istūn*, 'columns' (line 20). But the sentence *pad dast 'īs ačīš gīrd* etc. does present certain difficulties in translating. Müller (2. p. 42) provisionally rendered it by 'mit seiner Hand (um) daraus um den Himmel in Ordnung zu halten.' Bartholomae, *Zum Airwāb*. p. 89-90 (and cf. p. 65 mid. regarding *ačīš*) gives reasons for rejecting M's 'mit seiner Hand' and is inclined to offer the following: 'an der Hand die (dient) den Himmel rings um ihn in Ordnung zu halten,' thus taking '*īš ačīš gīrd* approximately as 'quod ei circa.' There is little doubt that '*īš* must be a relative pronoun (see the occurrences of the form in Sm. p. 105). Its antecedent, I think, is not *sar 'ūd dast*, 'head and hand' but an implied pronoun referring to the Atlas personage whose name Mānbēd is reserved till l. 24; the context easily allows such a pronoun to be understood. Hence the tentative version: 'upon the head and in the hand (of him) whose (task) is to keep in order the heaven round about him (lit. around from him).'—For the etymological congeners of the postposition *gīrd* see Bthl. p. 29 § 8.

<sup>66</sup> c 20. <sup>+</sup>*taskērb hapt 'istūn*: the first word is a crux. Müller reads *taskīrb*, leaving the word untranslated. Bartholomae, p. 30 top, similarly gives *taskīrb*, without explanation, merely calling attention to *pādgīrb* (Mü. p. 64 l. 3), for which latter form he assumes a Proto-Iranian *\*pātigrbā-*, and he later renders *pādgīrb* by 'Annahme,' in *Sb. Heidelberg. Ak.* 1924-25. 6te Abh. p. 59. [W. and L., *Stellung*, p. 70 bot., 71 bot., 116, 117, 118, translate *pādgērb* by 'Gestalt']. Furthermore I recall *-qērb* in *pahīgērb* (qu. 'counterpart'?) in a somewhat difficult TPhl. Fragment printed by Müller in Le Coq, *Die Manichaeischen Miniaturen*, p. 30, line 2. At a venture I would suggest to transliterate the problematic word *t s k y r b* in our passage as

*taskērb*, taking it as a compound, the first member being the TPhl. numeral *tas*-, 'four,' found in *tasōm*, c 6 above, and in M. 177. 3, 13, 20 (= Mü. p. 88; cf. Sm. *MSt.* p. 128 bot.), as well as in the TPhl. compound *tasbāz*, 'quadruped' (Mü. *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1080, where the meaning 'four-footed' is certain even if the phonetic combination -*sō*- is somewhat striking; but cf. NP. *pāsbān*). The second member, if read as -*kērb*, I would propose to connect with Av. *kəhrpa*-, 'body, form,' comparing phonetically (for *b* < *p*) TPhl. *kērbag*, BkPhl. *k r p k*, Pāz. *kərba*, 'good deed, merit,' cf. Bthl. p. 40 § 18. The literal meaning would thus be 'four-formed, quadruple,' and by transfer 'four-fold, four times(?)'; the total of 'quadruple-seven columns' would be twenty-eight (we could not consider translating as 'seven quadriform columns'). We may conjecture that the twenty-eight columns correspond to the number of days in the lunar month.

<sup>67</sup> c 21. *andar* 'istēnād: lit. 'he set inside'; see note above (c 18) for the double duty of this verb in the sentence. The idea conveyed by setting the columns 'inside' (*andar*) appears to be that they were placed within the space enclosed by the innermost of the four special walls.

<sup>68</sup> c 21-22. 'ōē vazurg zamīg abar 'istūnān 'ūd tāgān: this great earth (VI) apparently rested upon the previously described 'columns and arches' of Earth V as well as on the two principal walls, supported ultimately by the shoulders of the Mānbēd (see note above on c 17-21 end, and consult the following note on c 23 concerning 'the two walls').

<sup>69</sup> c 23. *parīsp dō*: for the first of these two principal walls see notes on b 13 and d 2; for the second, which was erected on Earth V, see b 21 note.

<sup>70</sup> c 23. *abar parīg*: 'upon the shoulders (?)' or 'back' is only a conjecture, but a natural one if we compare Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 15. 6, maximum Atlantem mundum ferentem humeris, et eum, genu flexo, brachiis utrimque secus fulcientem, cf. Cumont, p. 23 n. 3. But as no etymological explanation is thus far forthcoming for *parīg*, it would be idle to connect it with Skt. *parigha*, which means a 'bolt' rather than a 'prop.' One might be inclined to fancy some connection with NP. *farīgh*, 'wide, stretched out, large, broad, ample,' etc., Steingass, *Pers. Eng.*

*Dict.* p. 927, but that is marked as an Arabic word. According to an allusion in the Pahlavi work *Dēnkart*, 3. 200. 8, Mānī claimed that the world was 'a disk upon the column (*stūn*) of the fiend Kūndag': see my notes in *JRAS.* 1924, p. 217, 224 (reprinted below, Study VII).

<sup>71</sup> c 23-24. 'ī////[= 'īg *hān*] *mānbēd*: 'of [that] Mānbēd,' supplying the lacuna by the demonstrative pronoun *hān* as in *Mū.* 2. p. 18 bot. *hān mānbēd yazd*, 'that Mānbēd God' and p. 17 top, *hān mānbēd*.

<sup>72</sup> c 24. *nīīsād*: see note above on b 19.

<sup>73</sup> c 24. *šā k/////*: uncertain. I have taken *šā* here pronominally as 'that one, he' (i.e. Mānbēd) following an idea given by Salemann, *Manichaica*, 4. 48 bot. that TPhl. *šā* is a pronoun standing at the beginning of the sentence, and equivalent in meaning to 'ūš ('ū-š), 'and he.' Salemann had apparently given up his earlier rendering of *šā* as 'dann' (*Sm. MStud.* 1. 124 near bottom) which had been based on Müller here and p. 13 mid., also p. 95 mid. (*šā*). If this interpretation of *šā* as a pronoun be correct we might conjecture for *k/////* the word *kēšvar* (or *kēšvarān*?), 'regions, quarters' (of the earth), cf. b 23, d 12, 17. Without a facsimile of the manuscript it is somewhat difficult to judge concerning the length of the broken word; possibly *šā k[ē]*, 'that one w[ho]' would suffice, but this is doubtful.

<sup>74</sup> c 25. 'ēra////////: surely 'ēra[*gīhāh*], see above, the introductory remarks to this Study II, p. 26.

<sup>75</sup> There seems to be no occasion here for Müller's adding '[Rest zerstört]' since this folio (M. 99 c-d) contains the full twenty-five lines to the page, and the sense is complete.

#### Notes on M. 99 d 1-25

<sup>76</sup> d 1. *abar*(?): probably this is correct with Müller although he records the reading as not quite sure because the word is '[verwischt!]'.

<sup>77</sup> d 2. *parīsp* 'ī *bēdōm*: 'the wall which is outermost' must certainly refer to the exterior one of the two principal bulwarks, see notes on b 13, 21, c 23.—For philological observations regarding the form *bēdōm*, 'extremus,' see *Bthl.* p. 50 § 38 and n. 1.

<sup>78</sup> d 3. *abaragīhāh pad zamīg 'ī rōšan*: 'northward to the Earth of Light.' We know from other sources (to be discussed elsewhere) that the Manichaeans turned in prayer towards the pole-star as symbolizing the extreme point upward of the primordial Light Earth, and that our own earth's surface was regarded as a tilted plane sloping northward. Hence the earths on the north may be said to have the Light Earth as their boundary, since in the other directions they extend to the 'furthest wall.' The Mānbēd is naturally mentioned in our passage as keeping the north, or good region, in order as well as the three other quarters of the world.—Concerning the adverbial forms like *abaragīhāh*, cf. Bthl. p. 47 n. 1.

<sup>79</sup> d 5. *māzaman* (*māziman* ?): no translation of this attribute applied to *zamīg* is offered by Müller. Perhaps we may compare Skt. *mahimantī* and (with a different ending) Skt. *māhina*, 'mighty,' and parallel the strengthened expression 'great, mighty earth' *vazurg māzaman zamīg* (where the adjectives precede) with c 10, 'an earth great and firm,' *zamīg vazurg 'ūd 'istabr* (where the adjectives follow *zamīg*). Indirectly consult the note 105 below, on *mazan*, d 22.

<sup>80</sup> d 5. *'ōrōn*: if we compare Av. *aora*, 'downwards, below,' we should naturally suppose that *'ōrōn* would mean 'below' (so Sm. 1. p. 51), but the context shows here (cf. also line 20) that the two mixed earths (VII-VIII) were placed above (*abar*) the sixth earth and entirely separated from its moats (*'ōrōn aḡ pārgēnān*) with which they had nothing to do; hence the translation 'apart from, separate from' has been adopted (so also Müller, 'abwärts von' here, but with an asterisk '\*abwärts davon' at line 20).

<sup>81</sup> d 6. *pārgēnān*: these are the three moats of Earth Six (c 15 above), the only earth in connection with which there is a mention of trenches.

<sup>82</sup> d 6-7. *anī dō zamīg 'ī gūmēxtag*: these two other earths (VII-VIII), which are 'mixed' in character (dark and light elements), are laid successively above (*abar*, l. 4) the sixth. The upper one of the two (VIII), which answers to our own earth, is to be recognized in ll. 10-16 as adjoining the lowest heaven and consisting of four quarters surrounded by a wall with four gates and presided over by four angels. The lower one (VII) is described in lines 16-23 as comprising four dark quarters with



twelve hells and several subdivisions. The composite nature of these two earths is to be accounted for by the commingling of the dark elements with the light which resulted from the battle between the powers of Darkness and those of Light when the dark hosts swallowed a part of the light of Primal Man in the battle at the Border (*vīmand*) where the Light Earth touched the Dark Earth below and thus won portions of his light which had to be recovered again from the nether realm. The mixture that was produced in this way (so far as I understand the Manichæan sources) affected not only the regions immediately below the Border, but extended in a measure to the lower strata of the luminous domain.

<sup>83</sup> d 7. 'ūš (Mü. 'ōš): 'and ('ū-) he (-š),' see Bthl. p. 63 n., 67 n., 87 n. and cf. 'ūšān above in a 4, 7.

<sup>84</sup> d 7. *vīsp nāī* (Mü. *nāy*): these two words must certainly be taken together as a compound, but the meaning of *nāī* still remains unexplained. Query, cf. NP. *nāī*, 'reed, pipe, tube (also NP. *nāyah*, *nāyizah*, Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 1383), in the sense that the door served as egress to the general passageway up which the wind, water, and fire rose from beneath. Cf. next note. [Cf. later (1927), but somewhat similarly, with the idea of a channel, Scheftelowitz, *WZKM.* 34.226 § 61, who compares BkPhl. *nāī*, in Dk. 8. 38. 44, which is translated as 'canal' by West, *SBE.* 37. 127].

<sup>85</sup> d 8-9. '///// '/////rīj 'ī vas vād āb '[ūd ādūr] etc.: 'for leading upward the [. . . . .] of the abundant wind, water, [and fire].' I have made several guesses at words that might fill up the breaks as referring to the outpouring of the rush of the mighty wind, water, and fire from below, but have ultimately discarded each. At all events the door served as a passageway or channel through which the three forces ascended. In a Turkish Fragment (Le Coq, *Türk. Manich.* 1. p. 13 top) which is cosmological in character we find an allusion to a (heavenly) door and the (earthly) waters, but there seems to be no close connection with this; cf. furthermore Reitzenstein, *Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 9 top. On the other hand we have several parallels elsewhere for the forces of the wind, water, and fire. Theodore bar Khoni (see below, Study VIII n. 65, f.) states that the Living Spirit made 'the

(three) Wheels (*agganē*) of the Wind, Water, and Fire' and that afterwards these 'three Wheels were made to ascend' by the Messenger (tr. 'vases' by Pognon p. 189, 190; tr. 'roues' Cumont, p. 31, 37); [tr. Schaeder, *Studien*, p. 345, by 'Sphären']. These three are 'the three wheels (*tres rotas*) of fire, water, and wind which the King of Glory (*Gloriosum Regem*) impels' since 'he turns in the lowest depth (*in imo versat*) the wheels of the fires, winds, and waters' according to St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 15. 6; 20. 10 (cf. Cumont, p. 32 n. 3). They are also mentioned in a Turkish Fragment (Le Coq, 3. p. 6 mid.) as 'the three Wheels (*üc tilgān*), namely, the Gods of the Wind, Water, and Fire.' The TPhl. Fragments twice refer especially to the forces of the Wind, Water, and Fire, which are under the control of the 'Wind-raising God' (*Vād-ahrām Yazd*) who stands beside the Mānbēd on the lowest earth. For example see Mü. p. 17, near top, '///// [= the wheels? of] the Wind, Water, and Fire from the lowest earth upon which that Mānbēd and the Wind-raising God stand'; and again (Mü. p. 19, near top), directly after a mention of the Mānbēd on the lowest earth, we read also of 'that Wind-raising God who is with him (*'iš abāg*), he who raises upward the Wind, Water, and Fire' (cf. Cumont, p. 32 n. 4). Similarly in the Chinese Treatise a mere mention as 'the Three Wheels' (*san luen*), see Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*. 1911, p. 516 n. 3, and their footnote on p. 550 n. 1. Look up Fihrist, Flügel, p. 94 and n. 209; Kessler, p. 398 top. [P o s t s c r i p t (1930). Dr. Ogden suggests, as a conjecture, to restore '////*rīš* as \**'uzrēš*, 'outpouring,' cf. NP. *rīxtan*, 'to pour,' and *rēzīšn*, 'pouring' in S. 7 c 16, below (see Study IV). For the spelling of the preverb '*uz-*, with an 'ayin,' cf. the list of words in Sm. *MStud.* I. 104].

<sup>86</sup> d 9. '////////š: no conjecture to offer at present, except '[*ūd ādūr*], see n. 85. In reading the proofsheets Dr. Ogden suggested adding also [*ašīš*]š (or *ačīš*); the restored line would then read '[*ūd ādūr ačīš*]š, 'and the fire t h e r e f r o m.'

<sup>87</sup> d 10. *rāi* (Mü. *rāy*): concerning this word in the manuscript Müller records '? , korrigiert, überschrieben: 'andar korrigiert.' Sm. *MStud.* p. 17 n. 2, in referring to Müller's recollection, notes as follows: '10 zu *rāi* bemerkt M: "korrigiert, überschrieben: 'andar," sein zweites "korrigiert" gehört zu 'ūd.'

The usage of *rāi* with the infinitive is well attested elsewhere, cf. a 5 *gardanīdan rāi*, c 19 *vīnārdan rāi*, and d 17 *avišōrūpīan rāi*.

<sup>88</sup> d 10. *+pērāmōn*: 'around,' cf. d 20; and for the form cf. note on c 14.

<sup>89</sup> d 10. *zamīg*: this is the uppermost (VIII) of the earths, see note above on d 6-7; it is our own earth, which is spoken of as 'in *zamīg*, 'this earth' in Mū. 2. p. 19, l. 4. Observe that Earths VII and VIII were both constructed at the same time, even though Earth VIII is the one more fully described.

<sup>90</sup> d 11. *parīsp* 'ēv: this is the last of the many walls (*parīsp*) that are mentioned in our Fragment (a 12, 17, 19, 23; b 13, 21; c 7, 14, 23; d 2, 11—see notes above). Five each (see a 12, 19) belong respectively to the Sun and Moon; one (b 13) belongs to the 'Four Deposits' and runs from the Earth of Light and back to it again, while another (b 21) is raised upon the fifth earth and makes with the former wall the two principal bulwarks; four (c 14) are erected on the sixth earth; and our last-named wall (d 11) surrounds earth eight, while earth seven has a special enclosure (*āhrēvar*, d 21-22) for its dark dungeon.

<sup>91</sup> d 11-14. *pad čahār dar* etc.: at the four gates of the four regional quarters (*čahār kēšvar*) there are stationed above, severally, four angels who hold, or keep, the lowest heaven, matching the angels higher up (cf. note on d 13-14). In the description that is given of heaven in the 'Dialect' (Soghdian) Fragment ll. 5-6 (= Mū. 2. p. 97) four gates at the four corners of heaven are mentioned, but the interpretation of the preceding line (12 12 *xū lbartā*) is not quite clear there even though the Fihrist (cf. Mū., *loc. cit.*) assigns twelve gates to each of the heavens.

<sup>92</sup> d 12. *vīnārd*: the meaning here as applied to the action of the Living Spirit is rather 'put in order, arrange, build' than 'keep in order' as used of the Mānbēd in d 4 (*vīnārd*) and c 19 (*vīnārdan*).

<sup>93</sup> d 13-14. *prēstag čahār kē 'ērdōm asmān dārēnd*: 'four angels who hold (*dārēnd*) the lowest heaven,' the same verb being employed here as in the case of the Mānbēd who 'holds (*dārē[d]*) the earths' in another TPhl. Fragment (= Mū. 2. p. 18 bot.).

In the 'Dialect' (Soghdian) Fragment, ll. 1-3 (Mü. p. 97) four angels similarly 'hold' (*lārand* = *ḍārand*) each of the ten heavens.

<sup>94</sup> d 14. *ḥambidīj*: see note above, b 8.

<sup>95</sup> d 16. *+abgūhag*: so this word is certainly to be read instead of '*abgôhag*' (with *ô*) in Müller. The meaning is 'offal, refuse, remnant, detritus' in a bad sense as connected with darkness, and the etymology can easily be made clear. The integral part *-gūhag* is to be connected with Av. *gūtha-*, Skt. *gūṭha-*, NP. *gūh*, 'filth, excrement.' The prefix *ab-* (as in the verb TPhl. *abgandan*, Mü. p. 15, l. 11, p. 81, l. 6; and NP. *afgandan*, 'to throw off, throw away,' cf. Eng. *offal*, Germ. *Abfall*) defines the pejorative sense of the substantive still more precisely. Such an interpretation, when combined with the signification of *avišōrūptan* (see second note beyond), clears up the whole passage. As for the word 'offal,' here employed in interpretation, we may refer to Ephraim Syrus's *Prose Refutations* (transl. Mitchell, i. xxxv) as directed against Mānī and his followers: 'If, as they teach, a Refining goes up from the offal of the Archons, then the greater part of that swallowed Light is going forth by means of the offal of the Archons who swallowed it.'

<sup>96</sup> d 17. *ḥaḥār qēšvar tār*: 'the darkness of the Four Quarters.' The word *tār* here is preferably to be taken as a substantive as in M. 34 r. 12 (Mü. p. 45 top) and M. 102 r. 9 (Mü. p. 64 bot.). These four quarters, the refuse of which is to be swept into twelve hells, are evidently those of Earth VII, as contrasted with the four quarters above in Earth VIII (see lines 12-15) which are guarded by angels and adjoin the lowest heaven.

<sup>97</sup> d 17. *+avišōrūptan*: this word, which has long been a crux, is surely to be compared in its radical part with NP. *ruftan*, 'to sweep' (Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 581, and cf. P. Horn, *Pers. Ety.* p. 135 § 608, line 2). The first half (*avišō-*), however, requires further consideration. It seems to consist of a double prefix (*aviš* *ō*) defining the root as 'sweeping down towards' (i.e. downwards). If so, *aviš* might be compared with BkPhl. *awiš*, 'towards' (examples of which are to be found in Bartholomae, *Zum Airw.*, p. 66 n. line 13 f. and idem, *Mitteliran. Mundarten*, 3. p. 30 n. 3, ll. 27-33 and p. 9, l. 32); and the second element (*ō*, cf. Av. *ava* 'down') could then be regarded as defining

the downward direction more specifically (cf. 'ōxēst, b 5 and BkPhl. *ōpast*, etc. cf. Bartholomae, *Mitteliran. Mund.* 1. p. 4). Furthermore, for such a double verbal prefix, compare Skt. *abhy-ava-hṛ-*, 'to throw down or away,' and cf. Av. *ava avi-baraiti*, 'he brings down to,' in Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.*, 937. Less good would be the suggestion to regard *ō* as a 'shewa'-vowel, or 'murmelvokal.' In any case the sense is that the foul detritus is swept down into the dozen hells prepared below to receive such refuse of darkness.

<sup>98</sup> d 18-21. *dvāzdah* + *dōšōx* . . . *pāīgōs*: the twelve hells were distributed, three each, according to the four cardinal points, although the number 'twelve' in connection with hell does not happen to have been found elsewhere. The word *dōšōx* for hell (cf. NP. *dōzax*, Av. *daožahva-*, 'hell,' lit. (place of) 'evil existence' (*daož-aṇhu-*) occurs also in Mū. 2. p. 15, line 11, 'ō *dōšōx* *abg[anānd]*, 'they will cast (the evil-doers) into hell,' and on p. 95 ll. 6-7, *rasēnd dādīhā darvandān* 'ō *dōšōx*, 'the wicked justly come to hell.'—For the etymology of *dōšōx*, and its kindred Iranian forms see Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* p. 129 § 581, Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 64, Meillet, *Mem. Soc. Ling. de Paris* (1911) 17. 249, and cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 675 top. Another word for hell in TPhl. is *āyab*, which occurs more than a half-dozen times in these Fragments (see Mū. 2. p. 20-21 and Salemann, *Manichaica* 3-4, Glossary p. 34 top). The Turkish word for 'hell' (*tamu*) occurs a number of times in the Manichaean texts in that language. Thus we have references to 'hell' (*tamu*), 'dark hell' (*tūnārig tamu*), and 'in the burning hell' (*otluγ tamu ičintā*) in the Turkish texts from Khocho, Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. p. 13, lines 15, 19, p. 20, line 11; also (with adj.) *Türk. Man.* 2. p. 11, line 9, p. 12 verso, lines 3-4, and *Türk. Man.* 3. p. 6 top, line 7, cf. p. 7 top, line 12; furthermore the Turkish texts allude to the 'hell earth' (*tamu yirin*) and to 'hell's gate' (*tamu qapīγ*), see Le Coq, *Khua-stuanift*, line 161 and line 126 in *JRAS.* 1911, p. 290, 289 = Germ. ed. *Chuastuanift*, p. 16, cf. also Bang, *Le Muséon*, 36. p. 157, 155. The Chinese Treatise refers to hell as the 'prison of the earth' (*ti-yu*)—a Buddhist conception according to Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 533 n. 3. The *Acta Archelai*, 10. 5, cf. also 11. 2 (ed. Beeson, p. 16, 18) alludes to the Manichaean hells in

the plural (γεέννας, γεένναις). [The same TPhl. word *dōšōx*, 'hell,' is now found again, as *dōžax*, in a northern Iranian Fragment T II D, 178, 1, v. 5 b, while in that Fragment are also found three occurrences of the synonymous term *narah* (= Skt. Pāli *naraka*, 'hell') in 1, r. 3 b; 2, v. 3 b and 5 b. Refer to W. and L. *Die Stellung*, p. 112-113.]

<sup>99</sup> d 19. *pāīgōs*: 'region' (as often); so written in M. 4, f 11 and P. 2 (= Mü. 2. p. 58 top and Mü. 1. p. 351; the older form *pādīgōs* occurs twice in M. 470. 14, 17. For BkPhl. *pādīgōs* (*p a t k v s*) and Armen. *patgosapan* see Sm. *MStud.* p. 108 mid.

<sup>100</sup> d 19. *pasāxt*: cf. also BkPhl. *pasāxtan*, West, *Glossary*, p. 103; Salemann, *MStud.* p. 113.

<sup>101</sup> d 20. 'ōrōn ačīš: see note above on d 5, and on d 21 *āhrēvar*, at end.

<sup>102</sup> d 21. *+zrēh rāi*: 'for armor, as a protection.' Thus we are entitled to transliterate and translate (not as Müller, *zrēh*, 'des Meeres wegen') since the TPhl. word here is surely to be identified with BkPhl. *zrēh* which is used to render Av. *zrāda*, 'corselet, coat of mail (as protection)' in Vd. 14. 9; cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 1703; compare also NP. *zirih* and Armen. *zrahk*. A different view (based on Müller's 'Meer') is taken by Bartholomae, *Zur Ety. u. Wortbildung*, in *Sb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.* 1919, Abhdl. 10. p. 28 § 14 and p. 31 § 17 end, § 18; but the context of our passage (lines 20-23) clearly shows that the *āhrēvar* (see next note) was constructed as a protection (*zrēh rāi*) to shut in the diabolical poison of evil and darkness.

<sup>103</sup> d 21. *+āhrēvar* 'ēv: lit. 'one bane-enclosure'—a place in which harm, mischief, afflictions and corruption may be confined (cf. also d 22). The meaning of this problematic word becomes clear as soon as we recognize the derivation of its component parts. The first element is to be compared with Av. *āθri-*, 'bane, mischief, affliction, destruction' (Ys. 46. 8; compare also Av. root *āθ-*, 'to destroy,' cf. similarly, *āθi-*, 'ruin, injury, affliction,' adj. *āθiwant-*, and OP. (proper name) *āθiyābaušna-*, 'rescue from misery,' cf. Bthl. *Altiran. Wb.* 323, 322). The second element (*var*) is to be associated directly with the familiar Av. *vara-*, 'enclosure' (Vd. 2. 25 f.), found also in *bārīvar*, 'circumvallation' in the 'Dialect' (Soghdian) Frag. lines

9-11 (= Mü. 2. p. 97) as discussed in my article in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 25. 182. That much is clear as to the meaning of *āhrēvar*. In regard to the location of this 'bane-enclosure,' in the middle of which (see next note) the prison for the poisonous mass was arranged, it would seem to have formed an encircling ring (cf. *pērāmōn*) inside the twelve hells and apart from them ('*ōrōn ačš*')—unless that phrase should here be taken as 'below them' in contrast to its meaning in d 5, which seems very unlikely. In no case, however, is this 'one *āhrēvar*,' as an enclosure for evil, to be confused with the 'three moats' in c 15-16, even though the purpose of both was in a manner the same. [The same word *āhrēvar* (written with two *v*'s to fill up space at the end of the line) is also found now (1926) in a North-Iranian dialect piece (T II, D. 178) that has been made available by W. and L., *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 114 mid., and which refers to the infernal torments. These two scholars, evidently following Müller's '\*Wall(?)', translate the term by 'Umwallung,' without adding any footnote comment.]

<sup>104</sup> d 22. *paḍ ḥam āhrēvar nāpag*: *p* here written for *f* in *nāfag*, the point above being often omitted, lit. 'in (or at) the same *āhrēvar*'s navel' (middle); cf. d 21. For the word *nāpag* Müller doubtfully suggested '\*Erhöhungen(?)', but the meaning 'navel, center, middle' (cf. BkPhl. *nāpak*, or *nāfak*, NP. *nāfah*, *nāf*, 'navel, middle of anything,' Av. *nāfa-*, *nāfah-*, 'navel, family') is certain (see Sm. p. 97; Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 1375, 1376; Bthl. *Altiran. Wb.* 1062). The base-form *nāf*, 'navel' is used of the zenith of the visible sky in TPhl. Frag. M. 472 l. 3 (= Mü. 2. p. 17 bot.) and it appears likewise in M. 74 l. 6 (= Mü. 2. p. 75 mid.) *dōstān vā ḥāmnāfān*, 'friends and relatives' (lit. 'of the same navel,' cf. Av. *hāmōnāfa*). In the very center, therefore, of this guarding barrier the bulk of the vile venom was shut up. For additional instances of *nāf* consult the notes on S. 9 a 20, d 12, below, Study III.

<sup>105</sup> d 22. *mazan*: 'mass' (substantive); this meaning, as now suggested, is assured by other instances of the word, see Mü. p. 18 line 14, *mazanān* (plur.) 'masses,' and also p. 19 line 5, *Azdahag* 'ī *mazan*, 'Azdahāg, who is a mass' (i.e. the massive Titan).—For the etymology I would compare Av. *mazan-* (noun) 'greatness,'

Bthl. *Altiran. Wb.* 1156. Incidentally consult the note above, d 5, on the cognate (but differently formed) adj. *māzaman*, 'mighty.'

<sup>106</sup> d 23. +[[[za]rḥīg: '[poi]sonous.' This adjective is to be restored as *zarḥīg*, as in M. 544 (= Mü. 2. p. 72), *aṣ zarḥīg dad bazaq*, 'from the venomous beast's wickedness.' I derive it by metathesis from TPhl. *zahr*, 'poison' (cf. *tār zahr*, 'dark poison,' Petrograd Frag. S. 13. a 5, Salemann, *Manichaica*, 3. p. 18; and BkPhl. *zāhr* (sic), West, *Glossary*, p. 145; NP. *zahr*, Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 630. Consult Horn, *Neupers. Ety.*, p. 150, and Hübschmann, *Pers. Studien*, p. 71, 196). From a Turkish Fragment (T.Ia; Le Coq, 1. p. 19 bot., 20 top, cf. also Le Coq, 3. p. 24 line 12, *aγuluq*) we know of the 'poison' (*aγu*) of the Demons and Shumnu, the Devil, since that venomous element permeated the nether world. See likewise from the non-Manichaean sources references to this poison in the Fihrist, tr. Flügel, p. 86, with his notes 77, 78, and again Fihrist, p. 94 n. 207, where 'the smoke which pours up is the p o i s o n o f d e a t h'; furthermore we find the 'p o i s o n o f the S o n s o f D a r k n e s s' in Theodore bar Khoni, tr. Pognon, p. 186; tr. Cumont, p. 18; see also tr. Yohannan (with notes by Jn.) below, Study VIII n. 20. The meaning of [za]rḥīg as 'poisonous' seems therefore assured for our passage. [This adjective is to be distinguished from *z r h y g*, *zrahīg*, 'marine' (cf. Av. *zrayah*, OP. *drayah*, 'sea'), which is found in Frag. T II D, 178 II, verso, 2 b, *zrahīg māsi-yāgān*, 'fishes of the sea,' in W. and L., *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 113 top.]

<sup>107</sup> d 23. *zēndān*: 'prison.' This word occurs likewise in two of the Petrograd TPhl. Fragments, S. 9, a 22 and S. 14, a 3, 4 (see Salemann, *Manichaica*, 3-4, Glossary, p. 39, also Study III, below), in the latter of which passages the 'prison' is twice referred to in connection with 'sinners' and 'fiery hell' (cf. Sm. *op. cit.* p. 19 text).—Etymologically (despite Sm. *MStud.* p. 79 mid.) we may connect TPhl. *zēndān*, BkPhl. *zēndān*, NP. *zindān* with a hypothetical form Av. *\*zāēna-dāna-*, lit. 'arms-depot, weapon-repository, arsenal,' in which stronghold the prison chamber was located. Consult P. Horn, *Neupers. Ety.*



p. 149 § 671 and H. Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 70; for the suffix element *dān*, cf. J. Darmesteter, *Études Iraniques*, I. p. 290 § 246.

<sup>108</sup> d 23. *vīrāst*: cf. also BkPhl. *vīrāstan*, 'to arrange, set in order, adjust, adorn'; see also above a 24, *qerd 'ūd vīrāst*, 'he made and arranged.'

<sup>109</sup> d 24. *////[= +Gaḥī] dūdī abar dēm 'ī zamīq*: '[Then] again, upon the surface of the earth' (i.e. of Earth VIII). The account here returns once more to the face of our own earth (cf. above, d 10-16), on which the World-mountain stands. A new paragraph therefore begins at this point. The transitional word [*gaḥī*], 'then,' to fill the lacuna (////) before *dūdī*, I have supplied from a similar construction in M. 472. 9 (= Mū. 2. p. 18 top) where *Gaḥī dūdī*, 'then again,' is employed to indicate the transference to a further aspect of the subject in hand.

<sup>110</sup> d 24. *dēm*: 'surface' (of the earth), lit. 'eye,' and by metonymy, 'face,' see Salemann, *MStud.* p. 67 bot. who compares the New Persian expression *bar rōī zamīn*, 'on the face of earth.' As to etymology, TPhl. *dēm* is to be connected with Av. *daēman*, NP. *dīm* (*dēm*), 'eye, face,' cf. BkPhl. *han-dēmān*, 'in conspectu,' the semasiological development from 'eye, sight, face' to 'surface' being simple (see Darmesteter, *Études Iran.* I. 261; Bthl. *Altiran. Wb.* 667 and idem, *Zum Airwb.* p. 159, 169; compare also Sm. *MStud.* p. 67 bot. who recalls Armen. *dēmē* 'face,' also N.P. *dīm* in the sense of 'surface').

<sup>111</sup> d 24-25. *kōp //r*: merely by way of conjecture to fill in the broken name of this great mountain we may suggest comparing the Hindu Mount Sumeru (the designation commoner in Buddhist texts than Skt. *Meru*) on the ground that *Smir tar*, 'Mount Smir,' with its eight ranges which press down a titan demon, is alluded to in a Turkish Fragment (T II, D. 121, line 10 = Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. p. 8). Similarly in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise this noted Indian mountain is called *Wei-lao* (\**Mw'i-lao*), apparently *Meru* (*Sumeru*), see JA. 1911. p. 518, 519 n. 1. Consult also the next note. Furthermore recall that the Arabic writer al-Ya'qūbī (891 A.D.), citing Mānī's *Shāburqān* as authority, states that '(Mānī) asserts that the world is on a sloping mountain on which the high heaven

revolves' (see transl. E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. Persia*, 1. p. 156; cf. ed. Houtsma, *Ibn-Wādhīh . . . al-Ja'qubī*, 1. p. 182).

<sup>112</sup> d 25. *saḥīn vīčārīšnīj*: although the text itself is certain, the meaning (especially of *s ḥ y n*) is not sure. In an attempt to interpret the line, Salemann, *MStud.* p. 103, hesitatingly suggested referring to Mount Apārsēn (= Av. *Upairisaēna*) in Bundahishn 12. 9, and ventured to propose as a reading *kōp* [*'ā aba*]r *saḥēn*: but that reconstruction is for various reasons very uncertain. So we may lay this problematic word aside for the moment and turn to *vīčārīšnīj*, which seems more promising of explanation. From its etymological formation it is practically certain that the substantive *vīčārīšn* means fundamentally 'division' (cf. likewise *vīčārīšn*, 'division'—read *ā*—in the caption of Frag. M. 477 = Mü. 2. p. 13 bot., and *vīčārēd*, 'he divides,' Mü. 2. p. 12 top; furthermore *vīčārīšn*, 'distinction between' = ? 'explanation,' in M. 97, a 22, = Mü. *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1078); a 'division' of a mountain chain would therefore be an 'offshoot, range,' a phrase applicable to 'the eight mountains' (Turk. *sākız tağlar*) of 'Mount Smir' in the Turkish Fragment cited in the preceding note (d 24-25). The appended *-īj* in *vīčārīšnīj* is an enclitic, meaning 'and, -que' (see Sm. *MStud.* p. 169 § 127, and likewise Bthl. p. 62 mid. 'et'). Hence we may be fairly certain of the mountain 'and its -?- ranges' (divisions). It might be tempting in that case to seek for some such meaning as 'peaked' in the adjective *s ḥ y n* (*siḥīn?*), similar in signification to Skt. *śikhiṇ-*, 'crested, a mountain.' An Indian epithet would here be in order for Mount Meru. Phonetic support for possibly equating TPhl. *ḥ* with Indo-Iranian *kh*, *x*, in this instance, might be given by *rīstāḥēz* for *rīstāxēz* (cf. *āxēz*, etc.) in S. 9 b 16 below, p. 80, and compare also the note below (p. 119) on S. 9 c 27 end, concerning TPhl. *ḥēm*, NP. *xēm*, 'nature.' Furthermore, we find such similar interchanges in TPhl. *tōḥm*, *tōxm*, 'seed,' *taḥm*, *taxm*, 'strong,' for Av. *taoxman*, *taxma*.

**C o n c l u s i o n .** In the Text translated above and in the Notes that followed, we miss the sequel of the Fragment, since Müller (p. 43 bottom) adds the memorandum 'Rest

zerstört'; and it is evident from his further remarks (p. 44 top), where he quotes two verses in praise of Mānī, that that particular section, although belonging to the same manuscript, has nothing immediately to do with the above cosmological account. Since he distinctly points this out, we are consequently left to conjecture from other Manichæan sources the succeeding stages in the cosmogonic process which the original manuscript may have depicted in equal detail. And let me repeat again the hope that the shortcomings in my translation and comments may be later made good by scholars better qualified than I am, and with ampler resources at their disposal, to deal with so difficult a piece of work. With Goethe, we may say:

‘Da muss sich manches Rätsel lösen—  
Doch manches Rätsel knüpft sich auch.’

Typewritten August 2, 1925.

[Later additions are included in square brackets].

(Consult furthermore the sketch on p. 73 and the Diagram facing p. 74.)

## APPENDIX TO STUDY II

## Summary of the Eight Earths beginning with the uppermost, Earth VIII.

(Consult also the DIAGRAM that follows p. 74)

[Earth VIII (uppermost), or our own earth, has 'one wall' round about, with four gates and four angels in the four quarters.' The location of the 'door,' through which the wind, water, and fire are led up, is uncertain. So is also the position of the '(world)-mountain,' though presumably conceived as placed in the middle.

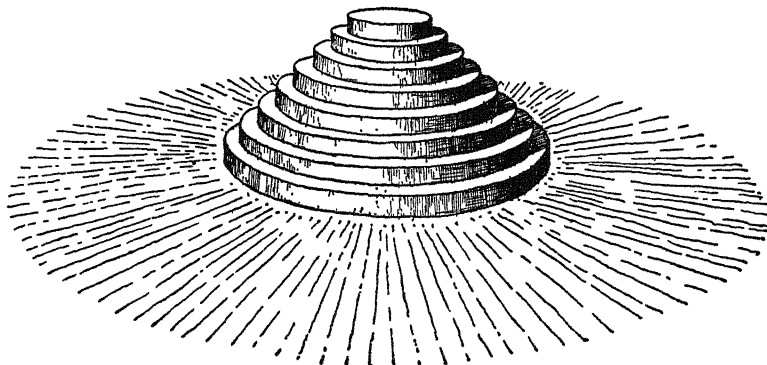
Earth VII (next below). This seventh earth with its 'Twelve Hells—three each in every region'—serves as a dumping ground below, into which the dark mass of refuse from Earth VIII was swept down (see notes above, on d 17 n. 96; d 18-21 n. 98). Inside of these twelve hells, which seem to have formed a circle of holes, is the 'enclosure-of-suffering' (*āḥrēvar*) and in its 'middle' is a 'prison for the poisonous mass' (see d 21 n. 102 end, and n. 103). These two latter enclosures must each have had a surrounding wall.

Earth VI (next below). The mention of 'twelve gates' implies an outer retaining wall. Inside this are 'four walls' enclosing 'three moats'; again within are 'four-times-seven (?) columns,' which help to support the two earths above. Moreover, 'this large earth' is placed upon the 'columns' and 'arches' of Earth V, resting at the same time upon the two principal walls (see notes on b 13 n. 43; b 21 n. 50; c 22-23 n. 68 and 69; d 2 n. 77) and being supported likewise by the Mānbēd (Atlas).

Earth V (still lower). This 'one other great earth above the (Four) Deposits' is located yet farther below. It has 'one wall' as a circumvallation on the southern side (the north side needed no protection, according to Manichaeism) and has 'three columns' and 'five arches' that help to support the superimposed burden of the earths higher up.

Earths I-IV (nethermost), the 'Four Deposits.' These basic 'four deposits,' laid one above the other as the lowest earth, constitute together the foundation upon which the four terrestrial superstructures rest. A great securing 'wall' (one of the two most important

walls) extends far below and around the deposits, running upwards to 'the Light Earth,' which is far above. This rampart serves to protect these four lowest earths against further invasion from the Realm of Darkness beneath, with which they are in such immediate proximity.]



THE EIGHT EARTHS  
 CONCEIVED AS SUPERIMPOSED ONE UPON THE OTHER  
 (See the folded Diagram facing page 74)



STUDY III

THE MANICHAEAN FRAGMENT S. 9 IN  
TURFAN PAHLAVI

TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES

INTRODUCTION

The present Manichaean Fragment in Turfan Pahlavi, or Middle Persian, as here transcribed and translated, with philological and illustrative comments, is one of a number found in Turfan and brought to St. Petersburg in 1908-11 by the Russian Consul at Urumchi, N. Krotkov. To the late scholar C. Salemann we owe a reproduction of it in the original Estrangelo-Syriac script, accompanied by a transliteration into Hebrew characters and a tentative version, as well as a glossarial index, published in his memoir 'Manichaica III' in *Bulletin de l'Acad. Impér. des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 1912, p. 7-14.

As copies of this Russian *Bulletin* are not now easily accessible, and because of the special interest which this Manichaean Fragment must have for Iranian scholars as well as for theologians in general, it has seemed worth while to make a special study of the piece. If I have been able to add anything to its interpretation or to make clearer some of the passages, it is only because, mounted on the shoulders of a giant like Salemann, it is perhaps possible to see farther.

For philological purposes it has appeared best to adopt a transcription of the original text into Roman letters, rather than to use Hebrew characters as did Salemann. To provide this, required a thorough and critical study (for the most part under a magnifying glass) of the reproduction of the original in the Manichaean Estrangelo script.

This has resulted in a number of new decipherments, and numerous points have likewise been made clear which were not understood at the time by the Russian pioneer.

In this textual work, and in other details, I enjoyed throughout the advantage of untiring help from my assistant (deceased in 1925), Dr. A. Yohannan, Lecturer in Oriental Languages at Columbia University, whose mastery in matters relating to Syriac, as well as the Iranian and other Oriental languages, was acknowledged, and whose death, just after we had finished a piece of work together on Theodore bar Khoni (see Study VIII, below), I have not ceased to mourn. My special Parsi student at that time, Mr. Jal C. Pavry, of Bombay [now a Columbia Ph.D.], also joined in the work on this particular Fragment. The appended section of Notes will fully show my indebtedness to such Iranian scholars as Müller, Salemann, Horn, and Hübschmann, as well as to other specialists.

This Fragment S. 9 (Kr. 1911, no. 1) is preserved on a single folio, almost complete, measuring  $22 \times 13$  cm. ( $= 8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  in.), written in a fair-sized hand on each side of the sheet in two columns, each 3.1 cm. ( $= 1\frac{1}{4}$  in.) wide, and numbering 34 lines to the page. The contents consist of two divisions: first (I), a section devoted to the fate of the soul of Primal Man, as overcome by the Powers of Darkness, the scene being laid in the Abyss of Hell; second (II), a section describing a colloquy in which a presumable Manichaean disciple receives from Mānī an assurance of the final redemption of the soul of man when ultimately purified from sin through the true religion and made triumphant at last over evil.

For an understanding of the contents of the Fragment a knowledge may be assumed of the well-known sources, Occidental and Oriental—whether Christian, like St. Augustine and the rest, or Muhammadan, like an-Nadīm and the others. Thus, in the Oriental list, particular



reference is to be made to the Syriac *Scholia* of Theodore bar Khoni, edited and translated into French by Pognon, revised with notes by Cumont (and M.-A. Kugener); consult also the English translation by Yohannan, with notes by A. V. W. J., as printed below in Study VIII; [compare likewise, later (1926), the German translation by Schaeder, *Studien*, p. 342-347]. Presumably at hand also are the Manichaean texts published by Müller and by Le Coq, in addition to the Manichaean treatise in Chinese issued with French translation by Chavannes and Pelliot. [Some references have later been added to Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (1926); Schaeder, *Urform* (1927), and to other articles.] (See BIBLIOGRAPHY above.)

A brief summary of the contents of the two sections of the Fragment may therefore be presented in outline by way of introduction.

#### OUTLINE OF CONTENTS OF S. 9

##### I

- a 1-9. The demons in the inferno raise a tumult; and, from their corruption and the defilement of the fiends, the unnamed Principle of Darkness creates pollution.
- a 10-30. He, as personifying the Evil Power, robs the soul (of defeated Primal Man), imprisons it in the pollution, and renders it vile and wicked.
- a 31-34; b 1-2. Ōhrmīzd takes pity upon this first of souls, and sends it, like others later, down to earth into the bodies of men.
- b 3-17. He expels the demon of Greed from the soul and reveals to the soul a promise of the future.
- b 17-30. The soul believes on Ōhrmīzd; and, cleansed, is raised to Heaven.

##### II

- b 31-34; c 1-8. Appeal (by a Disciple of Mānī) to know the time of the Final Coming and its signs.
- c 9-14. Response (by Mānī). The righteous and the elect are to be pardoned because of their sanctity.

- c 15-20. Appeal (by the Disciple) to know how long the wicked shall triumph, and when the righteous shall be absolved.  
 c 21-22. Response: The wise are the righteous and they shall be absolved.  
 c 22-30. Appeal for information regarding their reward, and the victory over the wicked.  
 c 30-34; d 1-29. Response: The time is near at hand, the wicked shall be punished, the righteous shall be brought to felicity; therefore 'teach, worship, and give praise,' because those whose accounting is good in this life shall hereafter be rewarded forever.  
 d 30-34. Thus Mānī revealed the past and the signs of the future.

We are prepared now to give the text in transliteration from the Estrangelo character, which is used to record the Manichaean scriptural writings in Middle Persian, and to accompany this by a word-for-word translation into English, followed by a freer rendering (p. 84 f.) to convey the general ideas more easily. The question as to the possibility of a metrical reconstruction of the text does not seem at present to offer very satisfactory results and is therefore reserved for later consideration.

## S. 9 recto a

(Transliteration of Text)	(Word-for-word Translation)
'[Ī] ZĪNDAKARĪĪ	O[F] THE MAKING-ALIVE
<i>dēvān 'ōšgarān</i>	The demons, death-making,
" š v b ( <i>āšōb</i> ) <i>qērd</i>	a disturbance made
<i>hiyārīh rāi 'i</i>	for the help of
<i>xvēš grīw</i> ⊙ ⊙ <i>'ū-š</i>	their own spirit ⊙ ⊙ And he
a 5. <i>ač n n s 'īg</i>	from the corruption (?) of
<i>dēvān 'ūd aš rēm</i>	the demons and from the
	defilement
<i>'i druxšān kērd(-)</i>	of the fiends caused-to-be
<i>ānād 'in nasāh</i>	made this pollution
<i>'ū-š xvad andar āvērđ</i>	and within it brought himself

- a 10. ○ ○ *pas-aš ač panž*      ○ ○ Afterwards he from the  
*amahṛāspandān zēn*      Five Elements, the armor  
*‘īg ‘Ōḥrmīzd xvadāi*      of Ōḥrmīzd the Lord,  
*n ḥ r y s y d (niḥrīsēd)*      extracted (?) the soul which  
*giyān ‘i*  
*xūb ‘ū-š bašt*      (is) good, and bound it  
a 15. *andar nasāh* ○ ○      within the pollution ○ ○  
*č ‘ v n y š (čī ‘ōn-iš)*      Like one blind and  
*kūr ‘ūd*  
*\*qar qērd abē ‘ūš*      deaf (he) made it, senseless  
*‘ūd vīftag kū fratōm*      and debauched, so that (its)  
    first  
*nē dānād būnīšt*      foundation (it) knew not  
a 20. *‘ūd nāf ‘i xvēš*      and the source of itself  
    ○ ○ He made pollution (of it)  
*‘ūd zēndān š bašt*      and in prison bound it,  
*giyān v y d r ‘ y*      (namely) the soul mute (?)[:]  
    (vīdrāi?) ‘ v m      that (?)  
    (avam)  
*zēndānīg ‘ p r ḥ y n d*      prisoner (acc.) there are  
    (āprhēnd)      (were?) tormenting  
a 25. *dēv drūxš ‘ūd ḥarv*      demon, fiend, and every  
*parīg* ○ ○ *rāst-ūš giyān*      witch ○ ○ Straightway (?) he  
    the soul  
*[b]ast andar nasāh*      bound within the pollution  
*[‘ūd??] v x n d (vixand)*      [and?] mocked (it), he made it  
    š qērd  
*[zīš]t ‘ūd darvand*      [hate]ful and wicked,  
a 30. *[dūšm?]ēn ‘i kēnvār*      [host]ile and malicious ○ ○  
    ○ ○  
*[bēd?] ‘Ōḥrmīzd ‘i*      [But?] Ōḥrmīzd the  
*[xvadāi] ‘ b x š ‘ y d v š*      [Lord] had mercy on it  
    (ābaxšāyad-ūš)  
*[‘ūd abar?] giyānān*      [and upon?] souls, and in  
    ‘ūd pad  
*[tanān] ‘i mardōḥmān*      [the bodies] of men

## S. 9 recto b

(Transliteration of Text)

(Word-for-word Translation)

'ōxēst(-)ānād

he (it) caused-to-descend

frōd 'ō zamūg ○

down to earth ○

š r ' s y n ' d v š

(He) washed off (from) it

(šarāsēnād-ūš) ' ' z

Greed

(Az)

'i darvand 'ū-š kērd

the wicked, and made it (i.e. the soul)

b 5. ast čašmgāh

a being having-eye-plače,

'ū-š āšqārag bā

and (to) it manifest (he) revealed everything which was

nimūd harvčē būd ī

and

bavād ○ taxtīhāy-ūš

will be ○ Quickly (to) it

qērd pēdāg kū 'in

(he) made clear that this

b 10. nasāh 'i padēn

pollution, which (is) bodily,

nē 'Ōhrmīzd 'ig

not Ōhrmīzd the

xvadāi qērd 'ū-š

Lord made; and it,

n y y č (nay-īč) giyān

the soul, (he) himself not

v x d (vxad)

indeed

bast(-)ānād ○ ○ zī[r]

caused-to-be bound ○ ○ The

[wi]se

b 15. giyān 'ig nēvbaxī

soul of good fate,

rīstāhēz-īš bū[d](-)

a resurrection (of) it (he) caused-

ānād varavīst-ūūš

to-be[.] It believed-on

dānīšn 'i 'Ōhrmīzd

the knowledge of Ōhrmīzd,

'i nēv xvadāi ○ ○ harv

the good Lord ○ ○ Each (and)

b 20. vīsp-īš andarz 'ūd

every admonition and

framān 'ūd mūhr 'i

command (for) it, and the seal of

xvāštīn vazīštīhā

goodly concord (love), most actively

padīrēft(-)ānād č ' v n

(he) caused-to-be-accepted,

(č' ōn)

like

gūrd 'i qērdagār ○ ○

a hero who (is) valiant ○ ○

- b 25. *nasāh-īš 'ī marg* Its pollution of death  
*frāmūxt ī b[ū?]d* (was) released and (it) became  
*būxtag 'ō šāyedān* liberated unto eternity  
*'ūd 'ul ahrāft* and upward led on  
*'ō vaḥīšt 'ō hān* to paradise, to that
- b 30. *šahr 'īg parūxān* realm of the glorious[.]  
*[Here two lines in the text are faded, and* *[For note on the two unde-*  
*undecipherable]* *cipherable lines see opposite]*  
*'ō man gū šahriyār* 'To me speak, O ruler,  
*ariyāmān' v v m ('ūm)* friend, and (to) me

## S. 9 verso c

(Transliteration of Text)

(Word-for-word Translation)

MAĪDĀN AG[///]ĀN

FIELD -- ? --

*abḥūm pūs*

disclose, thou son

*'ī f r y ḥ s t v m*

of the most glorious,

*(farēhistōm)**abar zamān 'ī-t*

about the time of thy

*āmadišnīh kā*

coming, when

c 5. *pad abdūmīh*

at the end

*' ' y y (āyē) ○ ○*

thou comest ○ ○ Liberator

*bōzīgar vazurg*

great,

*vičīhāg-ūm gū abar*

instructor mine, speak about

*hān zamān š nīšānān*

that time, its signs'

*○ ○ gūāgān ardāvān*○ ○ 'The speakers (are) the  
righteousc 10. *'ūd vičīdagān č y y*

and elect, for

*(čē)**mānāg hēnd andar*

(they) are dwelling in

*šahr ○ ○ zar-ū-zan*

the realm ○ ○ Gold and

*gēh ī*

woman, land and

*xvāstag nē + n y s ' n d*

wealth shall not corrupt

*(nīnēsānd)*

(them)[;]

*[']īm rāi mūrzihēnd*for this reason they are  
absolved'

- c 15.  $\odot \odot$  *hā 'in xēšmēn*  $\odot \odot$  'Ah, this wrathful  
*pād(i)kšāi dā 'ō k y y* monarch, un-til when  
*(kēy)*  
*nūn hamēv š' y y k y d* now will (he) ever rule?  $\odot \odot$   
*(šāyēhēd) \odot \odot*  
*vīdrāi 'ūd nāf* The mute (?) one and source  
 (kinsman)  
*'i xvāštī dā 'ō* of goodly concord (love), un-  
 til
- c 20. *q y y (qēy) mūrzihēd* when will he be absolved?'  
 $\odot \odot$   $\odot \odot$   
*zīrān ardāvān 'ī* 'The wise (are) the righteous  
 who  
*mūrzihēd \odot \odot gū-am* are absolved'  $\odot \odot$  'Tell me,  
*kū-šān čē pādīšnōhr* namely, (for) them what (shall  
 be) the reward.  
 $\odot \odot$  *kvāmūzd(-)tōxm*  $\odot \odot$  Do thou of well-absolved  
 seed
- c 25. *gū abar vānīšn 'ī* tell (me) about the vanquish-  
 ing of  
*dar[van]dān 'īg* the wicked, who (are) of  
*abrāst(-)* unjust (?) -  
*h[ē]m \odot \odot taḥm 'ūd nēv* nature  $\odot \odot$  The strong and  
 good  
*pūs 'ī dōšīst* son of the most beloved  
*vičīst-īš čē-m-īš* expounded this which by me  
 he
- c 30. *pūrsīd \odot \odot zūtār hān* (was) asked'  $\odot \odot$  'More than  
 quick (is) that  
*zamān razmāh rāi* time for the conflicts,  
*sārān h m y y s* the years combined-with  
*(hamēs)*  
*' v ' m ' n (āvāmān)* (their) debts (troubles), when  
*kā č' v n (či'ōn)* like  
*āb pad dīdān davēnd* water in the eyes (they) run  
 $\odot \odot$   $\odot \odot$



- čē nazd hān zamān* for near (is) that time,  
*ʾiš nīšānān* ○ ○ its signs ○ ○  
*xvanīhīst ānīdagān* Singing is of those-led-hither,  
d 25. *vīhādān* 'ī] *šahriyār* those-set-apart of the Ruler  
○ ○ *daḡēdagīh* 'ūd ○ ○ (Their) accounting and  
*avištābēdagīh* established-lordship  
*pādišnōhrēd a[č]* (he) will reward with  
*zīhr* 'īg *zāye[dān* ○ ○] the life which (is) eter[nal  
○ ○].'  
d 30. *šahriyār Mān[ih]* The ruler, Mān[ih]  
*xvadāvan vxad* the Lord, himself t[ought]  
*a[bdešēd]*  
*nīšān* 'īg [*zamān*] the signs of [the time]  
*būrzīst* ○ ○ *ta(?)* [*gīg*] supreme ○ ○ The h[ero?],  
*'ištāvad pad av[///]* the praised one, in - - -  
*[Rest of the Fragment* [Remainder missing]  
*wanting]*

## FREER RENDERING OF FRAGMENT S. 9

## I

## 'OF THE VIVIFICATION'

**a 1-9.** 'The death-dealing demons made a commotion for the help of their own Spirit; and from the corruption of the demons and the defilement of the fiends, he caused this pollution (the body) to be made and brought himself into it.

**a 10-30.** After that he extracted the good soul from the Five Elements, the armor of the Lord Ōhrmīzd (Primal Man), and bound it in the pollution. He made it like one blind and deaf, senseless and debauched, so that it knew not its primary origin and its own source (kinship). He (it was) made its pollution (the body) and bound the mute (?) soul in prison. Demons, fiends, and all kinds of witches torment that (?) prisoner. Immediately he bound the soul in the pollution, and mocked it; he made it hateful and wicked, hostile and malicious.



**a 31-34; b 1-14.** But the Lord Ōhrmīzd (Primal Man) had mercy on it—and upon (future) souls—and caused it to descend down to earth into the bodies of men. He washed the wicked Āz (demon of Greed) off from it and made it a being endowed with sight, and showed to it clearly everything that was and will be. He quickly made plain to it that the Lord Ōhrmīzd did not make this pollution which is bodily, nor did he himself cause the soul to be bound.

**b 14-30.** He brought to pass a resurrection of the wise soul, which is of good fate; it believed in the knowledge of the good Lord Ōhrmīzd. He, like a valiant hero, made it accept most actively each and every admonition and command, and the seal of goodly concord (love). Its pollution of death was removed, and it became liberated unto eternity and led on upward to Paradise, to that Realm of the Glorious.'

**b 31-32.** (*Two faded lines undecipherable here. See note below, on b 31-32, regarding the dialogue that follows. Compare also the Outline above, p. 77 f.*).

## II

### 'THE LONGED-FOR (?) FIELD'

**b 33-34; c 1-8.** (*Appeal by a Disciple of Mānī*). 'Speak to me, thou Ruler, Friend, and disclose to me, thou son of the Most Glorious One, about the time of thy advent, when thou wilt come at the end. Speak thou, great Liberator, my instructor, about the signs of that time.'

**c 9-14.** (*Response by Mānī*). 'The speakers (i.e. preachers) are the Righteous and Elect, because they are dwelling in the Kingdom. Gold and women, property and wealth shall not corrupt them; for this reason they are absolved.'

**c 15-20.** (*Disciple*). 'Ah! how long will this Wrathful Monarch ever rule? When will the mute (?) one, and kinsman (source) of love, be absolved?'

**c 21-22.** (*Response*). 'The wise are the Righteous who will be absolved.'

**c 22-30.** (*Disciple*). 'Tell me what shall be their reward. Tell me, thou of absolved lineage, about the vanquishing of the wicked, whose nature is unjust.—The strong and good son of the Most Beloved expounded that which I had asked him.'

**c 30-34; d 1-29.** (*Response*). 'More than swift (comes) that time for the conflicts, years together with their debts (of sin), when they run like water in the eyes. Near is it come to that time. The outrageous confounders of righteousness, who now are rejoicing, will be vanquished by thee, who art full of wrath. (The righteous) will be absolved (forgiven), since he will absolve (forgive) them, and they will atone for every sin that they have committed. Those who have wept will rejoice, and these will weep who now are laughing. The afflicted one and kinsman (source) of goodly concord (love) will have increase (prosperity) and sanctification; higher than the creeds and communities there ruleth the holiness of this Religion. The fountains of living waters shall unloose their lips in praise. Teach ye, worship and chant, for the signs of that time are near. The ones that are led thither, the chosen of the Ruler, will sing. Their accounting and steadfast stewardship will he reward with the life that is eternal.'

**d 30-34.** 'The Ruler, Lord Mānī, himself taught the signs of the time supreme. The hero (?), the praised one, in . . . . . ' (*Remainder missing*).

#### NOTES, PHILOLOGICAL AND EXPLANATORY

##### Notes on S. 9 recto, column a

**a o.** *ZĪNDAKARĪ*: for the formation of *Zīnda(k)karī* (or *-īy*), lit. 'the Alive-making, Quickening, Vivification,' see Salemann, *Manichaica III-IV*, pp. 12 top, 39 mid.; and especially id., *Manichaeische Studien I*, p. 79 mid., s.v. *zīndkar*; also on the

abstract ending -*ā*, -*īy* cf. Bartholomae, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*, p. 39 mid. For the significance of this titular heading of the page see the next paragraph, and likewise consult the remarks below concerning the caption of c, o, *MAĪDĀN ĀG* [///] *ĀN*.

This caption [*Ī*] *ZĪNDAKARĪ* is important because it recalls the title of Mānī's Book, or Treasure, 'of Vivification' (Albīrūnī, *Chron.* tr. Sachau, p. 191; an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. and tr. Flügel, pp. 73, 103, 367 n. 324), the *Θεσaurus Ζωης* (Epiphanius, etc.). If this conjecture be correct, the designation becomes significant as giving a setting to the Fragment among Mānī's lost works, gradually being recovered. [Similarly later (1926) Schaefer, *Studien* (with Reitzenstein), p. 274 n. 3]. On the 'Trésor de Vivification' see Alfarc, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, 2. 43-48, 4, 8-11, 13-16, 100, 117, 140, Paris, 1919.

a 1. '*ōš-garān*': cf. Av. *aoša-*, 'death, destruction,' BkPhl. *aoš*, *ōš*; and for the suffix see Sm. *MStud.* p. 157 mid. Other instances of Zoroastrian terminology, like *dēwān 'ōš-garān*, occur below in this Fragment. [Cf. also Schaefer, *Studien*, p. 275; Scheftelowitz, 'Die manich. Zar. Hymne M. 7,' in *Oriens Christianus* (1927), 3te Serie, 1. p. 283 n. 3.]

a 2. *āšūb* (*āšōb*): written as ' ' *š v b*; occurs also in the Turfan Pahlavi abstract *āšōbgarēft*, 'the making of a disturbance,' M. 34. 5 (= Mü. p. 44 bot.) and in the adjective [*āš*] *ōbgar*, 'disturbance-making,' M. 102 r. 14 (= Mü. p. 65 mid.). Compare likewise BkPhl. *āšōp*, NP. *āšōb*, 'confusion, disorder, commotion, tumult,' and connect with Av. *√ xšub-*, Skt. *kṣubh-*, 'to agitate'; see Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, § 32. This sort of infernal agitation and disturbance is evidently what was described as the 'disordered motion,' *κλυσις ἀτακτος*, aroused in Matter, referred to by Alexander of Lycopolis, §§ 6-9, and also by Christian writers on Manichaeism.

a 2. *qērd*: lit. '(by) the demons (was) made'; this familiar construction of the passive (cf. A. J. Carnoy, 'Pre-Aryan Origins of the Persian Perfect,' *JAOS.* 39. 118) has been rendered here and throughout by an active, as is commonly done in translation.

a 3. *hiyārīh*: on the meaning of this word and its formation see Bthl. p. 25 n. 1.

a 3. *rāi*: OP. *-rādiy*, BkPhl. *rāi*, NP. *rāi*, is regularly post-positive, cf. c 14, 31.

a 4. *grw*: this is a common word in the Turfan texts; besides occurring a dozen times in the Fragments that were first made available—for references see Sm. p. 37 mid. and Sm. *MStud.* p. 64 mid.—it is found some thirty times in the Manichaean Hymn-book Maḥrnāmag, esp. lines 391–443 (see Müller, 'Ein Doppelblatt,' in *Abh. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 1912, Berlin, 1913); also as *γrw* in the Soghdian texts of the New Test. (see references in Müller, 'Soghd. Texte,' p. 96, in *Abh. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1913). It is rendered by the Chinese presumable form *nik*[or *ni*]-*liu* in the Manichaean Treatise found at Tun-Huang, China, see Chavannes and Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique*, 1911, p. 537 n. 2, esp. the added note, p. 538, by R. Gauthiot.

The meaning of *grw* (distinct from TPhl. *giyān* and also *vāxš*) appears to be in general 'spirit,' in the sense of 'vital element, existence, self.' Müller, 'Eine Hermas-Stelle,' in *Sb. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 51. 1082, Berlin, 1905, renders '*garēw*' (with references) by 'Geist'; but in the Soghdian texts of the New Testament (*Soghd. Texte I*, pp. 13. 10; 14. 12, 13, 15, 16; 42. 2; 45. 14; 51. 2; 58. 9; 63. 14, 18) for *γrw* he alternates between 'Seele' and 'selbst.' Gauthiot, *Journal Asiatique*, 1911, p. 538 n., was inclined to translate by 'forme, personne, corps' till further passages should become accessible. On the whole 'spirit,' or more particularly 'self,' with the broader connotation indicated above, seems as convenient a rendering as any, especially in connection with the adjectives (*rōšan*, *zīwandag*, *bōxtag*, etc.) accompanying *grw* in the Turfan Maḥrnāmag, previously cited. The demons in our passage are themselves one with the evil spirit that produced them. Salemann, *op. cit.* p. 12, renders 'für iren Geist'; cf., after him, Reitzenstein, *Das iran. Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 38. [Bang, *Muséon* (1923), 36. 217, was not satisfied with this, and later, *op. cit.* (1925) 38. 14, proposed 'Wesen, Natur.' Tedesco, *Zt. f. Ind. u. Iran.* (1926) 4. 136, suggested for Soghd. *γr'yw* the meaning 'Person, Selbst (Av. *grwā-*, fem. 'Hals')'. Schaefer, *Studien* (1926), p. 248 n. 3, 249, 292 n. 5, gives 'Selbst, (Gestalt)'; Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (1926), p. 70–77, espec. p. 75–77, always translate as 'Ich.']

The etymology of *grw*, however, is not certain; but it is tempting at least to compare Skt. *grwā-*, Av. *grwā-*, BkPhl. *grwāk*, 'neck,' and *grw-pān*, 'neck-protector, hauberk,' NP. *girwāh*, 'hill, neck or breast of a mound,' and to suggest taking *grw* in a derived sense, 'breast, bosom,' metaphysically 'spirit, existence, self.' [Similarly, Reichelt, *ZII.* (1926) 4. 240, connects Soghd. *gr'ywh* with Av. *grwā-*. On the other hand, Scheftelowitz, *ZII.* (1926) 4. 324 n. 4, and again in an article in *Oriens Christianus* (1927), 3te Ser. I. 271 n. 1, emphasizing Augustine's view that the Manichaean conception of the spirit is that 'der Geist ein Sprössling der Seele ist,' proposes to derive '*grw*, Geist' from an assumed 'altiran. \**grabya*, "Sprössling," aw. *garwa*, ai. *garbha*, gr. *βρέφος* (lautlich vgl. mp. *snēh* aus \**snathya*: aw. *snatha*).']

a 4. 'ū-š: 'and he' i.e. the Evil Principle, who is referred to as the active agent, in this first column, by the pronoun (-š, -aš, -ūš), though not mentioned by name. On the conjunction 'ū, 'and,' followed by the enclitic pronoun, see Bthl. pp. 67 n., 87 n. 3; the examples of its usage are frequent in the present fragment and elsewhere. See above, M. 98 a, 4, note 5.

a 5. *n n s*: there is no question as to the decipherment of the letters of this word (*n n s*), though the precise vocalization and etymology are not clear (query—cf. a 8, *nasāh*; c 13, *ninēsānd* ?); the meaning 'filth, corruption' is certain from its being combined with *rēm* in line 6.

a 6. *až*: this familiar preposition (cf. also *ač*) is here written with two dots, or points, over the *z* in the Estrangelo script.

a 6. *rēm*: this word, found likewise in M. 551 r. 3 (= Mū. p. 67 bot.) and in the adj. *rēman*, 'filthy, impure,' M. 177 r. 3 (= Mū. p. 88 mid.), occurs also in BkPhl. as *rēm*, and in NP. as *rīm*, see Horn, *Neupers. Etymologie*, § 639, Strassburg, 1893; Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 68, Strassburg, 1895. Both BkPhl. *rēman* and *nasāh* (cf. a 8, below) are found twice together in ŠNŠ. 2. 119 (West, *SBE.* 5. 275), cf. Bartholomae, *Mitteliran. Mundarten* (1917) 2. 28. An anti-Manichaean allusion in Syriac to 'the offal of the Archons' occurs in C. W. Mitchell, *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, etc.* I. p. xxxv top.

a 7-8. *kērd(-)ānād*: thus to be taken together as a verbal compound. The form *ānād*, following in the same manner a

passive participle and written separately, occurs again several times below, S. 9 b 1, 14, 17, 23; and S. 13 a 6 (*sīrīd ānād*). Although the problem puzzled Salemann, cf. *Manichaica IV*, p. 35 bot., the solution of it (whatever may be the etymological explanation) is to be found in the fact that this composite verbal formation has a causative force. Somewhat comparable are the TPhl. (participial) forms *avīyštanād*, 'constitutus,' and *āxēzanād*, 'surrectus' (Mü. pp. 90 mid., 82 mid.), cf. Sm. *MStud.* p. 165 top. Quite indirectly for the causative formation, we may compare NP. *barxēzānīdan*, 'to make rise,' Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 172.—Postscript. Bartholomae, *Mitteliran. Mundarten*, 3. 44 (available later) offered a philological suggestion: 'Vielleicht ist *kardānād* 'fecit,' *bastānād* 'vinxit' eigentlich *kerd*, *bast* + *dānād*, d.i. 'er wusste, vermochte zu machen, zu fesseln'; and he added some support for such a view.

a 8. *nasāh*: compare the common word Av. *nasu-*, 'pollution, corruption,' BkPhl. *nasāk*, NP. *nasā*. The word *nasāh*, including adj. *nasāhēn*, occurs a dozen times in the Turfan Fragments; for references see Sm. p. 44 mid., Sm. *MStud.* p. 101 bot., and cf. Bthl. p. 200 mid. [Again later (1926), in a SW. Dialect Fragment published in W. and L. *Die Stellung*, p. 121, cf. n. 9, *nasāh* appears in the significant phrase: *paḍ vīmār 'ī nasāh*, 'through the disease of pollution' (meaning the body). Cf. further, Scheftelowitz, *Zt. f. Ind. u. Iran.* 4. 317, *giyān 'ād nasāh*, 'Seele und unreiner Körper.'] Here, as in the preceding passages, *nasāh*, 'pollution,' is synonymous with the human body, such being the Manichaean conception.

a 10. *pas-aš*: written in the manuscript as *p s ' š*.

a 10. *panž*: five is well known as the dominant holy number in Manichaeism, though seven, twelve, and other cardinals likewise occur; on this subject compare also P. Alfaric, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, 2. 12, Paris, 1919; F. Legge, 'Manes and the Manichaeans,' in *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2. 291, Cambridge, 1915; and Chavannes and Pelliot, 'Un Traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine,' in *Journal Asiatique* (1911, 1913), index (1913, pp. 385, 389), s.v. cinq, douze, etc. Furthermore compare in the TPhl. *Maḥrnāmag* line 433 (ed. Müller, *op. cit.* p.

28) *grīw rōšan kē panž///*, 'the Spirit of Light, which (is) five - - -' (referring to the Primal Man?).

a 11. *amaḥrāspandān*: (1) this word with initial *a* occurs only here in the Fragments, so far as yet known; observe also internal long *ā*('). The form *mahrēspandān* (without initial *a* and with internal *ē* (y) is found in S. 7 b 13; d 6; while the word appears as abstract *marlāspandtīh* in the Pahlavi 'Dialect' (Soghdian) Fragment M. 14. 1 (= Mü. p. 98 bot.), and furthermore, again plural, as *mardāspanṭē* in the Soghdian New Test. texts, T. II. B 46 verso 11 (see Müller, 'Neutest. Bruchstücke in Soghd. Sprache,' in *Sb. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 13. 265, Berlin, 1907; and id. in *Abh. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 1913, p. 84); it is similarly found in the name of the Persian month-day *Mahrāspand* in M. 50. 29 (= Mü. p. 95 bot.). The corresponding Chinese form in the Tun-Huang Treatise (*Journal Asiatique*, 1911, p. 544 and n. 1, cf. p. 522 n.) is *Mo-ho-lo-sa-pen* (Mahrāspand). [Regarding the internal 'Murmelvokal,' anaptyctic *ā*('), and similarly *ē* (y), see Bartholomae, *WZKM.* 30. 29-30; id. *Sb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.* 1923. 28, 29, 40-41, 47].

(2) This plural form (*a*)*mahrāspandān* is rightly to be translated by 'elements, Elements,' as shown by the abstract derivative *marlāspandtīh* in M. 14. 1, cf. M. 133 (= Mü. pp. 98-99), which the text itself explains as 'ether, wind, light, water, fire'—see Müller, *Handschriften-Reste II*, p. 98-99. The term *amaḥrāspandān* is applied in our present passage to the Five Elements that formed the panoply of Primal Mān, and is found elsewhere, under other designations, with a similar connotation. It thus answers to 'the five gods' (*al-ilāhat al-ḥamsat*) of the Fihrist (Flügel, p. 54; 87, and note 94; Kessler, p. 389) and to 'the five luminous gods' (*ḥamšā alāhē zīwānē*) of the Syriac scholiast Theodore bar Khoni (ed. and tr. H. Pognon, pp. 127-128 = 186 ff.; see also transl. below, Study VIII n. 57). It matches likewise with the Turkish *bīš t(ā)ngri*, 'fivefold god,' in the Khuastuanift, § 1 etc., ed. and tr. A. von Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 280, 284; id., *Abh. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1911, p. 8, 13; [cf. likewise Bang, *Muséon* (1923) 36. 144]; and it appears also in 'les cinq corps lumineux' of the Tun-Huang Manichaean Treatise, tr. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 512 and p. 513 n. 1.

(3) With regard to the word (*a*)*mahrāspand* we have the 'Dialect' (Soghdian) form *marlāspandtīh* and Soghdian *mardāspanṭē* (Mü. *HR.* 2. 98; id. *Soghdische Texte*, I. 97, index), thus showing that an original *rt* lies at the base of *hr*, *rṭ*, *rd*. [Compare further (1928) on the dialectic variations, Lentz, *ZDMG.* 82. 199, 'Der Name aw. *omurto sponto* lautet nordiran.: *muhrospand*, südwestiran. *murōspand*, sogd. *murlospand*.'] The occurrence in our present passage of the form *amahrāspandān*, with initial *a*, is thus far unique and lends weight to the natural comparison with Av. *aməša-spənta* (for *amrta-*, Skt. *amṛta-*), 'Immortal Holy Ones,' or Amshaspands, the personified Archangels in Zoroastrianism. The form *mahrāspandān*, without initial *a* by aphaeresis, would be easily explainable in the case of a term so commonly used, just as BkPhl. *Mūrdād* for *Amūrdād*, name of the fifth month; *Nāhīd* for *Anāhīd*; *Nōšīrvān*, older *Anōšarvān*; and numerous other examples (see Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 121). I find this same view taken by Andreas, 'Zwei soghdische Excurse,' in *Sb. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 15. 311, Berlin, 1910; and by Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 544 n. 1.

In connection with the Amesha Spentas as representing the 'Elements' in Manichaeism, it should be observed that the number in Zoroastrianism is seven (or six), but the number 'five' in our present passage (S. 9 a 11) and in the list of 'elements' in M. 14 and M. 133 (= Mü. p. 98-99—above referred to) would be accounted for by the predominance of five as a sacred number in Manichaeism (see note on a 10, above). The group could be artificially raised to seven in Manichaeism by mechanically including the personifications *Xrōštag* and *Padvāxtag*, 'Appellant and Respondent' (cf. Salemann, *Manichaica IV*, p. 42; and especially Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 544 n. 1; p. 521 n. 1; Legge, *Forerunners*, 2. 354-355). Yet it must be acknowledged that it is difficult at the moment to find more than a general or vague association between the Manichaean 'elements' (*arṭāv fravarṭīy*, *vāṭ*, *arṭaxūšṭ*, *āp*, *ātar*) and the elements in nature over which the Zoroastrian Amshaspands preside. Therefore, while the two names for the concept are parallel in Av. and TPhl., likeness in content is in part largely external and, in the case of the later group, reminiscent. But the whole subject requires further consideration.



[On the sevenfold-fivefold series consult later (1926) a short paragraph in Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Stellung*, p. 33. Allusion is there made to the 'sieben Mo-ho-lo-sa-pen (Mahraspand)' in the Chinese Treatise (p. 543 ff.), reference also to the corresponding passage in the Turkish Fragment (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. 18), where 'Mitleid und Frömmigkeit' are included, and likewise to the Chinese treatise (p. 567), where Khrōshtag and Padvākhtag come into account, but with the five sons of the Living Spirit. Still later (1928), Lentz, *ZDMG.* 82. 199-205, brings out more in detail the relations between the Manichæan and the earlier Zoroastrian Amesha-Spentas.—Cf. also, Schæder, *Studien* (1926), p. 279-280, who indicates that the Manichæan designation of the Five Light Elements by names reminiscent of the Amahraspands in the TPhl. and Soghdian dialects reflects in the oldest Eastern Iranian usage a special form of the pre-Manichæan system. Still later (1927), in his discussion of the group as five in Manichæism, Schæder, *Ursprung*, p. 125-126, points back to Bardesanes as a possible intermediary source exercising an influence upon Mānī in this connection. Somewhat earlier (1922), Scheftelowitz, *Die Entstehung d. Manich. Religion*, p. 42-43, cf. p. 52, sought the origin of the Manichæan (and Mandaean) idea of 'fünf Elemente' in India. Not to be overlooked from the Hellenistic side is Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 2 ed. (1920), p. 90-92].

a 11. *zēn*: an allusion, as indicated above, to the fivefold spiritual panoply with which the King of the Paradises of Light, or Father of Greatness, armed Primal Man for combat against the powers of Darkness, as told in the Fihrist and by Theodore bar Khoni (cf. Flügel, p. 87; Kessler, pp. 388-389; Pognon, pp. 184-185); and see Study VIII, below.

a 12. 'Öhrmīzd: Av. *Ahura Mazdāh*, OP. *A(h)uramazda*, BkPhl. *Auharmazd* or *Öhrmazd*. The identification of Ormazd, or *Xurm(u)zta* in the Turkish Manichæan Confession-Prayer, with Primal Man was first proposed by Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911. 301 n. 10; id. *Türk. Man.* 1. 40 (in *APAW.* Berlin, 1912). It was accepted by Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911. 513 n. 1, and has since been generally adopted. Further consult note below on a 31 and cf. S. 8 b 3.

a 13. *n ḥ r y s y d* (*nīḥrīsēd* or *nīḥrēsīd*?): the vocalization, derivation, and exact meaning are alike uncertain. If *ḥr* be rightly combined, it would seem to point to some form containing original *tr*, *θr* with inchoative *s*. It might be thought hazardous to suggest the idea of 'swallowing' (cf. Av. *θraṇh-*, 'mouth,' Bthl. *Altiran. Wb.* 801) the light particles of the soul, which thus became imprisoned in the pollution, according to the notion of 'swallowing' contained in the Fihrist (Flügel, p. 87; Kessler, p. 389), Theodore bar Khoni (Pognon, p. 186), and in the well-known Pahlavi book *Shikand-Gūmānīg Vizhār*, 16. 17, 30 (tr. West, *SBE.* 24. 244, 245; Salemann, *Mém. Acad. Impér. des Sc. de St. Pétersbourg*, 6. 19, St. Petersburg, 1904; cf. also my transl. below, p. 177, 179, in support of the meaning 'swallowed'). Recall the familiar Gk. term *ἐφαγον*; cf. also the Syriac rendering of the idea by St. Ephraim in C. W. Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. xxxv, 2; xxxvi, 17; lxxxv, 4; lxxxix, 26. If this suggested meaning for *nīḥrīsēd*, or probably better *nīḥrēsīd*, as 'swallowed,' be on the right track we might compare the TPhl. participle *nīḥrīst* or *nīḥrēst* in the fragmentary lines of S. 12 b 40-43 (Sm. 3. p. 17). That entire Fragment is broken and obscure, but the lines in question (b 40-43) read approximately: *avam* ('ō-m) *grīv pad* [*ba*]nd 'ūd ač av[am] *žūdī kērd kē*//////// *nīḥrēst pas manūḥm[ēd]* /////*ī* ač av[am] *žūdī qērd*, and may be tentatively translated, 'that(?) spirit he made in bond and made a separation (*žūdī*) from that (?), for ////////// having been swallowed he afterwards made the Manūḥmēd /////*ī* a separation (i.e. separated) from that (?).' The same past participle *nīḥrēsī* occurs farther on in this Fragment, line c 43, but the connection is too broken to allow more than the surmise that it means 'swallowed.' [P o s t - s c r i p t, Feb. 1, 1927. Not convincing to me seems the suggestion made by Schaefer (1926), *Studien*, p. 252 n. 1, to connect *n ḥ r y s y d* and *n ḥ r y s t* with the older Iranian root *θrā-*, 'schützen, bewahren,' and to translate the word as 'b e r g e n . ' He cites, but rejects, the earlier tentative versions by Reitzenstein (1921), 'erbeutete,' in *Das iran. Erlös. Myst.* p. 38 f., and by Bang (1925), 'raubte,' in *Muséon*, 38. 3 n. 1. On the whole I am inclined to abide by my notion that this *s*-inchoative verb means 's w a l l o w e d,' even if the etymology is not altogether clear].

a 16. *čī'ōn-īš* (written *č'vnyš*): lit. 'in what manner it' etc.; see note on b 23, below, and cf. Sm. p. 47 mid.; Sm. *MStud.* 1. p. 120 mid.; Bthl. p. 66 top.

a 17. *abē'ūš*: NP. *bīhūš*, 'senseless' (cf. Bthl. p. 245 bot.), and compare Av. *uš-*, 'hearing, understanding.' The omitted copula, 'it became,' is easily supplied in the sentence.

a 18. *vīstag*: the original sense of this word is found in Av. *vīpta-*, BkPhl. *vīftak*, 'pedicatus.'

a 19. *nē dānād būnīš*: it is to be observed that also in the Turkish Manichaean Confession-Prayer Khuastuanift (T. II, D. 178. 4, line 15 = b, line 3) the Fivefold God, or soul of Primal Man 'forgot (lit. forgetting sent away) the eternal heaven of the Gods'—*māngigū-i t(ā)nngri-i yirin unūtu-u 'itddī-i*—see Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 281; id., *Abh. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 1911, p. 9. Similarly in Theodore bar Khoni (ed. and tr. Pognon, text p. 127, tr. p. 186): 'the sense (Syr. *haunā*) of the five luminous gods was taken away from them'; but finally 'the Primal Man recovered his senses (*haunā*).' So *abē'ūš* above, a 17.—On *būnīš* cf. Sm. p. 37 top, and see note on Pāz. *bunyaštagā* in Shikand 16. 4, below, Study VI.

a 20. *nāf*: lit. (1) 'navel,' (2) 'center, source, origin,' then (3) 'family, kin,' cf. Av. *nāfā-*, 'navel, kin'; see below, c 18, d 12 *nāf*, and d 16 plur. *nāfān*, 'centers, origins,' possibly 'kinsfolk.' [For *nāf* (sg.) with the meaning (3) of 'kin, community,' we may refer to T. II, D 135, a 3, printed by Müller, *Festschrift Villhelm Thomsen*, p. 208, *hamāg nāf 'i niyōšāg[ā]n*, 'die gesamte Gemeinschaft der Hörer,' Leipzig, 1912.—Not accessible until 1922]. Compare also the note on *nāpag* in M. 99 d 22, above in Study II n. 104.

a 21. *-ūš*: the enclitic third personal pronoun *-ūš*, 'he, it' (to be distinguished from the independent *'ū-š*, 'and he') occurs below S. 9 a 26, 32; b 3, 8, 17; and often. It is to be explained on the same analogical basis as the frequent enclitic of the second person *-ūt* or *-ūt*, 'thee' (written *-ōt* by Bthl. p. 61 top, with examples, cf. also p. 62 top), and the first personal *-ūm* (or *-ōm*, Bthl. pp. 58–60). The similar enclitic *-īš*, 'he, it' also is found in the present fragment, S. 9 a 16; b 16, 20, 25; c 29; d 13 (cf. likewise *'īš* standing independently in genitival construction, d 23), besides the familiar *-aš*; compare furthermore the note below on

š, a 22, 28; c 8. Bartholomae, *WZKM.* (1918) 30. 29-31 [and later, *Sb. Heidelberg. Ak.* 1923. 28-32, 40-42, 47] explained these and similar forms as variations in writing the 'Murmelvokal' (indistinct vowel). It is sometimes difficult to determine whether these pronouns are to be taken as subject or as in an objective relation.

a 21-22. *nasāh . . . basf*: it should be remarked that above in lines 14-15 the soul is represented as having been bound in pollution already; see furthermore lines 26-27 below, but those two, with lines 28-30, imply further acts.

a 22. *zēndān*: combined with *basf* into a verbal phrase, 'imprisoned.' The generally accepted etymology of the Iranian word for 'prison,' NP. *z(i)ndān*, BkPhl. *zēndān*, Av. \**zaēna-dāna*, lit. 'arms-depot, weapon-repository,' is certainly the correct one, as the dungeon was naturally in the arsenal; on this etymology see J. Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes*, I. 290 n., Paris, 1883; Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 671; Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 70. On the idea of the imprisonment of the soul see Cumont, *Recherches I, La Cosmog. manichéenne*, p. 19 (with references).

a 22. š: this abridged pronominal form, written with two dots or points above š (cf. *š*, S. 7 a 11 etc.), occurs also below, a 28, c 8; and likewise (transcribed by Müller as šā) in M. 99 p. 3, line 24 (= Mü. p. 42 mid.); M. 475 verso 15 (= Mü. p. 13 mid.); Maḥrnāmag, lines 180, 183 (Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 16). On the position of this pronoun see the comment by Sm. p. 48 bot.; Sm. *MStud.* p. 124 bot.; in the present passage it anticipates *giyān* of the next line.

a 23. *v y d r ' y* (*vīdrāi*?): the reading of each letter of this word, including the final, is clear both here and at c 18 below, whatever the vocalization may be. The word, thus used twice in this Fragment, seems to be certainly the same as in M. 4 p. 3, line 17 (= Mü. p. 53 mid.) *giyān v(i)drāi*, which Müller, *loc. cit.*, reads as *vadrāy*, but later changes to *vadarāy*, 'mögest du hinübergehen' in *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1083 (*Sb. kgl. preuss. Akad. Wiss.* vol. 51, Berlin, 1905); a verb, however, does not here suit the context.

As to part of speech, the word is certainly an adjective here (with *giyān*) and below, as shown by the parallelism between

c 18-19 *vīdrāi 'ūd nāf 'i xvāštī*

d 12-13 *sōgvār 'ūd nāf 'i xvāštī*

because the latter line means 'the grieved one and center (or source) of goodly concord (love).'

The exact signification of *vīdrāi*, *vīdarāy* (or however vocalized), as well as its etymology, remains a crux. After trying all sorts of combinations and guesses I venture to put forward the suggestion that in this passage the soul may possibly be conceived of as 'speechless, mute, uncomplaining,' and to hazard a comparison with NP. *darāy*, 'conversation,' *darā'idan*, 'to speak,' drawing attention also to a similar form in TPhl. *darāyīšn*, *darāyist*, M. 97 d 5, 8 (= Müller, *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1080 mid.); and, furthermore, to take *vī* in the sense of 'without,' comparing Av. *vī-barha-*, 'without intoxication,' Av. *vī-xrūmant-*, 'bloodless.' But it must be confessed that this is only a seemingly plausible guess, harmonizing with the idea above (a 16-18) that the soul was blind, deaf, and senseless; a luckier hand may do better; or, if additional texts are made available, they may help to solve the problem. [Schaefer, *Urform . . . d. Manich. Systems* (1927) p. 116 n. 1 end, suggests reading *vīdarāy*, taking this as a ptcpl. adj. (cf. *Gr. ir. Phil.* 1. 1. p. 279, Nr. 6) to be connected with NP. *gudardan*, and translates by 'vorbeigehend, durchschreitend'].

a 23-24. 'v m (*avam?*) zēndānīg' p r (*a-par?*) hēnd: this whole sentence is not clear; there is no punctuation-mark before it, and the entire matter needs discussion. See paragraph (2) that follows.

(1) 'v m (*avam?*): the sentence thus beginning is translated by Salemann (p. 12) conjecturally, 'und mich den gefangenen bedreuen (?) die hexen und alle feen,' therefore taking *avam* as 'und mich,' like BkPhl. *av-am*. But the objection to 'und mich' is the fact that there is no occurrence at all of the first personal pronoun in the entire first half of this Fragment. For that reason, as a mere makeshift, I have taken *avam* as a survival of the old third personal distant demonstrative, comparing Av. and OP. *ava-*, 'that,' just as the TPhl. pronoun 'v y š' n = 'ōēšān, 'those, them,' having for its antecedents the pronominal gen. plur. Av. *avaēšgm*, OP. *avaišām*. Similarly also Bthl. *Zum Air Wb.*, p. 150 n. 4, even though Sm. *MStud.* p. 161 bot. differs. It is to be regretted that the ten occurrences of 'v m (*aum, avam*) in S. 12 b are not clear because that Fragment is too broken; similarly the very uncertain S. 34 b 3.

(2) ' *p r* (*apar*?) *hēnd* or *apr̥hēnd* (?): the two words are somewhat separated in the text, though Salemann (p. 9) transliterates together as '*pr̥hynd*' in his Hebrew transcription of the Estrangelo and renders conjecturally 'bedreuen (?)'; but he allows in a footnote (p. 12 n. 6) the possibility of dividing as *apar hēnd*, 'mir . . . sind.' If one is inclined to seek a preposition in *apar*, in the sense of 'over, in charge of,' there is the objection that *abar* is the ordinary form in TPhl. If *apr̥hēnd* (however vocalized) be taken together as a verb ('torment, punish, threaten?'), it would seem somewhat difficult to suggest an etymology. [ P o s t s c r i p t, June 7, 1929. This desideratum has now been supplied by my former pupil Dr. C. J. Ogden. Taking a hint that TPhl. *h* may here, as often, represent an older Iranian *θ*, and that the idea, as already indicated, may be that of tormenting, punishing, he makes the excellent suggestion to connect the verb *a p r h̄ y n d*, written together as *āp<sup>h</sup>r̥hēnd*, with Av. *pərəθa-* 'punishment' (see Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 892), cf. especially also *anāpərəθa-* (123), *dərəzānō.pərəθa-* (742), *tanupərəθa-* (636), all of which contain the idea of 'punishment,' with an implication of torture. We may therefore regard *āp̥rhēnd* as a denominative verb to be compared with a presumable Av. *\*āpərəθayeinti*, 'they punish,' i.e. torment, torture. This explanation would suit the context admirably.] In Zoroastrianism a part of the torment of the damned in hell consists also in the mocking and ridicule of the soul by Ahriman and the demons (Avesta, Yasna 31. 20; Pahlavi, Mkh. 7. 23-24), but the terms there used have nothing to parallel with this as a verb. Compare note below, on a 28.

a 25-26. *dēv drūxš parīg*: this demoniacal crew is familiar to every student of the Avesta; see Jackson, *Zor. Studies*, p. 80-104. In the word *parīg* the *p* is defaced but decipherable.

a 26-27. *rāst-ūš giyān [b]ast*: Salemann (p. 47 bot.) rightly takes *rāstūš* as an adverb, 'gerade,' and translates the whole sentence (with dots for words that are not certain) thus (p. 12): 'Alsbald verschloss er die seele in die . . . unreinheit, und machte sie . . . und böse, . . . -haft und voller hass.' His rendering 'und machte' implies a conjunction before *š qērd*; but it seems on the whole more reasonable to supply the conjunction [*ūd*] before *v(i)xand* in order to fill the space there broken (see

next note). I have taken *rāst* (which can hardly be used adjectivally here) as an adverb (like Phl. *tēž*, *zūt*, cf. Salemann, in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* 1. 1. 318 bot.) and have kept *-ūš* as an enclitic pronoun, cf. above, a 21. On *giyān bast* see the remark above, on a 21-22.

a 28. [*ūd?*] *vixand* (?): the suggestion to supply *'ūd* to fill the vacant space here is due not only to the sense (see preceding note) but also to the fact that the magnifying-glass seems to reveal traces of a final *d* at the end of the lacuna in the facsimile. For *v x n d*, which is plainly a word by itself in the text, I ventured at first to offer *vikand*, recalling the old root *khan-*, Skt. *khan-*, Av. and OP. *vī-kan-*, 'to destroy, ruin' (see Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 438), and taking it as a pret. in the sense of 'he ruined.' Later, however, this view was abandoned for phonetic reasons, because the dot over the *k* definitely indicates that *x* is to be read, and the word cannot be derived from *kandan*, 'to dig,' as given by Sm. *Manichaica*, 4. p. 41. It is to be connected rather with NP. *xandah*, 'laughter,' and its numerous compounds, and with NP. *xandīdan*, 'to laugh,' the past participle *vi-xand* being here a shortened form. See below, d 11, *xanēnd*, 'they laugh.' The prefix *v(i)* strengthens the meaning as 'de-rided, mocked.' For the Zoroastrian idea of demonic mocking of the soul, as a parallel, see note above, on a 24 end.

a 29. [*zīš*]*t*: Salemann's conjecture of [*zīš*]*t*, cf. Phl. and NP. *zišt*, seems very plausible. For the Iranian cognates see Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 662, and Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 70 top.

a 30. [*dūšm*]*ēn*: a portion of an *m* is discernible in the text, hence my proposal to read as the rather common *dūšmēn* (cf. also Av. *dušmainyu-*), though [*xēšm*]*ēn*, see c 15 below, would suit the context equally well.

a 30. *ī*: the conjunction 'and,' so written with a point above and below *v*, cf. also below, b 7, 26; c 12; d 10, 14, 21. Müller, 2. p. 6 mid., 17 mid. etc., etc., transcribes this alphabetic character by *vā*.

a 30. *kēnvār*: this word, like the preceding *darvand*, is easily recognized through familiar cognates in Iranian, see Horn, §§ 881, 61.

a 31. [*bēd*]: there is good ground for Salemann's filling the gap

here by *bēd*, 'but'; cf. also Sm. p. 37 top; Sm. *MStud.* p. 61 bot.; Bthl. p. 51 n.

a 31. 'Öhrmīzd: see note above on a 12 and cf. also on S. 8 b 3. Throughout S. 9, and equally so in other Turfan (TPhl. and Turk.) documents, 'Öhrmīzd represents Primal Man. In this light the translations above are to be regarded. My idea is, that in the present passage (a 31-b 2) Primal Man is conceived of as taking pity upon his own soul, which had become contaminated by contact with Darkness, and upon future souls in general, as naturally included in it; he therefore sent it, and consequently them, down to earth into the bodies of men with a special design in view. This design was, that even though the body was a creation of Darkness, just as the universe itself contained dark elements, yet it, as the microcosm, might be made to help onward the gradual release of the particles of Light, as does the macrocosm. We should consult also some of the passages in the Chinese Treatise (*JA.* 1911. 515-528); furthermore (available later), compare Reitzenstein, *Das iran. Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 8, 31 bot., 38-42, cf. esp. 40 n. 5, 59, who takes 'Ormuzd' as equivalent to the 'Urmensch' throughout.

Support for the idea that the soul or souls were sent by divine intention may possibly be given by the answers which the Manichæan Fortunatus twice made to Augustine, on the second day of their disputation, as recorded by the great bishop. Fortunatus firmly upholds that souls were sent by God (*Deus*),—using the term *deus* as naturally adapted to Christian phraseology, in whatever sense he himself may have employed it. He distinctly states (Aug. *Contra Fort. Disp.* 2. 26-27, Migne, *PL.* 42. 127: 'It is asked of us, if evil cannot harm God (*Deo*), wherefore was the soul sent hither (*huc anima missa fuerit*), or for what reason was it mixed with the world (*mundo permixta sit*)? . . . Why did He dispatch the soul (*animam direxit*), when no necessity compelled Him? . . . We (Manichæans) do not hold that God is subject to necessity, but that He sent the soul voluntarily (*voluntarie misisse animam*).'

Moreover, a little earlier in the disputation (2. 22, near end, Migne, 42. 126), Fortunatus had explicitly stated the purpose of the sending: 'Before the establishment of the world souls were



sent in this way (*hoc more missas esse animas*) against the Contrary Nature (*naturam*), in order that they subduing it by their suffering, the victory might be rendered to God.' For further comments see also below, note on a 33-34, p. 103-104, 105 top.

Similarly the Neoplatonic philosopher Simplicius (6th century A.D.), in arguing against the dualists, by which term he evidently intends the Manichaeans, represents them as saying (*Comment. in Epicteti Enchiridion*, ed. Dübner; p. 70, Paris, 1840) that God 'threw to the evil the souls, which were parts and members of Himself and which had not sinned before, in order to preserve the rest of the good things.' A little further on he says: 'He who, according to them, threw the souls, or at any rate commanded them to be thrown, either forgot or did not perceive what things the souls were going to suffer when given up to the evil.' [For this reference I am indebted to Dr. C. J. Ogden.]

Furthermore (cf. also b 11-19) the thought that 'Öhrmīzd is ready to help the soul or souls is expressed in M. 2 (Mü. 'Hermas-Stelle,' in *SP4W.* (1905) 51. 1081): '(By them) an appeal was made unto the god 'Öhrmīzd: "Leave us not in the member(s) of Darkness, but send (cf. Av. *šiyav-*) us power and a helper." And the god 'Öhrmīzd responded (*padistūd*, cf. Av. *stu-*) unto them, "I will not abandon (*s-inchoat.*) you to the powers of Darkness.'" Cf. text below, p. 104.

[Although the full text of this Fragment, M. 2, composed in the Northern Dialect, is not yet published, we have at least a translation of it by Andreas (accessible to me later, 1922) in Reitzenstein, *Das mand. Buch*, p. 27, which clearly shows that 'Öhrmīzd, five times repeated, refers plainly to Primal Man. Little doubt can therefore remain that the same is true in our present passage. It likewise would equally militate against the translation of our lines (b 3-5) by Scheftelowitz, in *Oriens Christianus* (1927), 3te Serie 1. p. 283 n. 3, where he regards 'Öhrmīzd as referring to the Zoroastrian godhead and renders: 'Er ('Öhrmazd) trieb ihm (dem Urmenschen) die glaubensfeindliche *Āz* heraus und hat ihn [i.e. Primal Man] mit Augen sehend gemacht.'

Schaeder, *Studien* (1926), p. 252 and 274-276, especially 275, and consult his *Ursprung* (1927), p. 134-135, while not disre-

garding the identity of 'Öhrmīzd with Primal Man, seems to imply (cf. p. 275) that the name in our passages, S. 9, was purposely chosen through Manichaean adaptation ('Umstilisierung' and 'Anpassung') in order to appeal to Zoroastrian listeners. We know that Christian terminology was similarly adapted by Manichaeism to gain Christian followers. Therefore, on the whole, Schaeder's view would not appear to be adverse to that propounded above.

Lastly, we must not overlook in this whole connection the question of interpreting one other Fragment, this in the Southern Dialect, namely T. III, 260 D, as later translated (1926) by Scheftelowitz, in *Zt. Ind. u. Iran.* 4. 317-319, and afterwards revised by him (together with the text transcribed in Hebrew letters), *Oriens Christianus* (1927) p. 279-283. This Fragment, although affording natural parallels here as elsewhere, seems to me not to refer to the 'Urmensch,' as Scheftelowitz appears to think (p. 281 top), but rather to the first created of mankind, namely Adam, since vegetal and animal life are referred to as already existing, and it is also stated (l. 44) that he died. Adam, like his immediate successors, is the one in this Fragment, as in Theodore bar Khoni, awaiting the true and new enlightenment. For such reasons I am inclined not to connect the last-mentioned Fragment (T. III, 260 D) with Primal Man directly].

a 32-33. ' b x š ' y d v š (*ābaxšāyad-ūš*) [*'ūd abar?*] *giyānān* etc.: this sentence, which appears to be a parenthetical observation, requires detailed comment. With regard to meaning, the verbal form *ābaxšāyad* is to be connected with NP. *baxšā'idan*, 'to have mercy upon, forgive, pardon' (Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 186 bot.), and the formation is to be compared with TPhl. *patāyad*, *nimāyad* (cf. Bthl. p. 38 n. 3, 71 mid.); see also Sm. p. 34 mid.

The fact is certain that this verb (TPhl. *ābaxš-*) has a double usage: it can be used (1) actively, 'to have mercy upon,' followed by a preposition (*abar* or *pad*) defining the governed object; or (2) absolutely, 'to have mercy, forgive,' without a definitely expressed object. All this becomes clear from a number of examples herewith to be cited from the Turfan Manichaean Hymnbook (*Maḥrnāmag*), ed. F. W. K. Müller, 'Ein Doppelblatt,' in *AbhKPAW.* 1913.

The first (1) usage, i.e. supplemented by a preposition and object, 'have mercy upon' (*abar*), is found in the following instances, *op. cit.* p. 25, lines 349, 351 (text, p. 23, ll. 349, 351):—

*ābaxšāh abar man, yazdān - -*

*ābaxšāh abar man, yazd vazurg*

'Have thou (each?) mercy upon me, O Gods --,' (pl. noun = sg.?)

'Have mercy upon me, O Great God!'

Similarly *op. cit.* p. 26, line 366 (text, p. 23, line 366):—

*ābaxšāh abar man, yazd vazurg*

'Have mercy upon me, O Great God!'

Likewise with *pad*, 'on,' *op. cit.* p. 21, l. 286 (text, p. 19, l. 286):—

*ābaxšāh pad man, farahēgar*

'Have mercy on me, O Glorious One!'

The second (2), or absolute usage, 'have mercy,' without object, is illustrated by these examples, *op. cit.* p. 25, lines 350, 352 (text, p. 23, lines ditto), and likewise p. 27, lines 395–396 (text, p. 24, lines 395–396):—

*ābaxšāhēd, ašmā yazdān - - -*

*ābaxšāh, farahēgar man bōžāgar*

*ābaxšāhēd, ašmāh - - - - -*

*ābaxšāhēd, brādarān - - - -*

'Have mercy, ye Gods - - -'

'Have mercy, O Glorious One, my Liberator!'

'Have mercy (i.e. pity, pardon), ye - - - - -'

'Have mercy (i.e. pardon), ye brethren!'

In our present passage it would seem warranted to take the enclitic pronoun *-ūš* as the direct object of *ābaxšāyad*, and as referring to the soul of Primal Man, and to supply [*'ūd abar*] in the lacuna before *giyānān*, translating thus: 'Öhrmīzd the Lord took pity on it—[and upon] (future) souls—and let it descend into the bodies of men.' Examples of such use of *'ūd* as a close connective, followed by *'ūd* introducing a new clause, can be paralleled in M. 173, lines 1–2 (= Mū. p. 78 top) and elsewhere in the TPhl. Fragments. The phrase [*'ūd abar*] *giyānān*, 'and upon (future) souls,' would be simply a parenthetical explanation, the

plural *giyānān* being a logical generalization of the one original soul that was brought down to earth and thus distributed in the bodies of men; consult the note above, on a 31. Taking it in this way, and in connection with the lines that directly follow (b 3-30), we can understand how 'Öhrmīzd (Primal Man) took a share in the individual salvation of man, the microcosm, just as the visible world, the macrocosm, was itself brought into being in order to serve in the general liberation of the light that had been imprisoned by the demons. This explanation of the plural *giyānān* as parenthetic appears to make the passage clear, after which the account continues with the soul primeval, naturally in the singular.

The idea, moreover, that 'Öhrmīzd (Primal Man) is concerned in giving help to souls in general is borne out by Frag. 2 (Müller, 'Eine Hermas-Stelle,' in *SPAW.* 51. 1081, Berlin, 1905), which contains an appeal made to 'Öhrmīzd by imprisoned souls (as was said above, p. 101 mid.) and his consequent promise of help and release. These lines of M. 2, so far as available, speak of the 'assistance of 'Öhrmīzd (Primal Man) the Divinity'—*adyāvārēft ēē 'Öhrmīzd bag*—and continue with the piteous supplication addressed to him and the comforting assurance given by his promise. The text (*op. cit.*), with a rendering, here follows:

. . . 'ō 'Öhrmīzd bag padvaḥād	'(It was) appealed to 'Öhrmīzd the Divinity
kū-mān mā hīrzāh paṭ	thus: "Do not leave us
ṭār handām o o +bēč mān	in the body (members) of Dark- ness o o But send
zāvar vā adyāvar frašāvā	us power and a helper"
o o 'ūṭ 'Öhrmīzd bag	o o And 'Öhrmīzd the Divinity
'ō ḥavīn padīstūd kū-tān	responded to them: "You
nē andāsān paṭ ṭār	I will not abandon to
zāvarān o o	the powers of Darkness" o o'

The above detailed discussion which upholds taking the enclitic pronoun -ūš as object seems to offer a much better interpretation than would be the suggestion to regard -ūš as a subject that takes up 'Öhrmīzd by anaphora.

a 34. [*tanān*]: 'bodies.' Probably thus; otherwise restore *tanwār* (collective) or *tanwarān* (plural), if space allows the latter. Salemann (p. 12) proposes [*tandīs*?], translating it by 'gestalt (?)', but without adding further explanation.

a 34. *mardōhmān*: plural of *mardōhm*, a derivative from a theoretic Iran. \**martatauxman-* (whence by haplology \**martauxman-*), lit. 'seed of man,' regarding which see Bthl. p. 70 bot.

#### Notes on S. 9 recto, column b

b 1. ~'ōxēst(-)ānād: on this causal formation see note above, a 7, and the meaning literally is 'caused to be descended,' i.e. 'let descend, allowed to go down.' Its signification is therefore the direct converse of the not uncommon verb in TPhl. *āxēz*, *āxēzēd*, 'arise, arise ye,' BkPhl. *xāstan*, 'get up,' and NP. *xāstan*, 'to rise,' imperat. *xīz*, together with South Ossetic *xizin*, and Kurd. *bīksim*, 'I will spring up.' Cf. Horn, in *Grund. iran. Philol.* I. 2. p. 134 top, and Salemann, *ibid.* I. I. p. 300 bot., although the presumed Avestan parallel which both sought is now to be rejected because of the better reading in Geldner's text, *pāiri. haēzarūha*, see Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 1730, *haēz-*. [Furthermore, on *xēzam*, cf. W. Lentz, *Zt. f. Ind. u. Iran.* (1926) 4. 292].

b 2. *zamīg*: the punctuation-mark after this word here is a single point, though rather large.

b 3. *š r' s y n' d*: this word, though clearly written, presents a problem. Salemann, p. 12, translates conjecturally, 'er verscheuchte (?) ir den bösen Girtufel,' and adds in his glossary (p. 49) the remark, 'ich habe ganz willkürlich übersetzt, als ob das sonderbare wort zu *harāsīdan* [i.e. NP. "to fear, to terrify"] gehörte, mit √ *srask* hats wohl nichts zu tun.'

For a considerable time, however, I was inclined to seek some connection between this verb and the not uncommon verb Av. *srask-*, *srasč-*, 'to drop, drip' (espec. of rain), and the Av. noun *sraska-*, 'tear-drop' (for etymological cognates of which see Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 1644, 1645), but finally abandoned the idea, even though certain that the concept was that of cleansing the soul from the particles of evil with which the demon *Āz* had contaminated it.

Unexpectedly the thought occurred to vocalize  $\check{s}r'syn'd$  as  $\check{s}arāsēnād$  and take it as a causal inchoative (for the caus. formation cf.  $\check{i}stēnād$ , etc.) in the sense of 'he caused to flow away, washed away,' connecting it with the Indo-Iranian root found in Skt.  $kṣar-$ , 'to flow, stream, pour out,' and Av. (voiced)  $\gamma\check{z}ar-$ , 'to flow, (causat.) make to overflow,' cf. NP. (unvoiced)  $\check{s}ārīdan$ , 'to flow (as rivers),' Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 723; Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 779. The representation of Indo-Iranian  $kṣ$  ( $xš$ ) by  $\check{s}$  in later Iranian is familiar enough, see P. Horn, in *GrIrPh.* 1. 2. 88, § 39, 3 b; for Av.  $\gamma\check{z}ar-$ , cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 530 n. This suggestion,  $\check{s}arāsēnād$ , 'he caused to flow away, washed off,' would seem to solve the mooted problem.

b 3. ' ' z ( $aaz$ ,  $\check{A}z$ ): this very frequent name in the Manichaean texts represents a demon that is well known in Zoroastrianism as the personification of 'Greed, Personal Craving, Concupiscence,' Avestan  $\check{A}zi-$ , and is familiar as  $\check{A}z$  in the Pahlavi books, cf. Jackson, in *GrIrPh.* 2. 660, § 13 [and Gray, *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, p. 202]. In the Turfan Pahlavi Fragments this female arch-fiend is mentioned in connection with  $Ahrāmēn$  and other demons, particularly  $Avarzōg$ , 'Lust,' and in one of these pieces (S. 13 a 6-8 = Sm. p. 18 bot.) she is called 'the . . . mother of all the fiends'— $\check{A}z // \check{e}nd mād \check{i} v\check{s}pān [drūx]š$ . The terms  $\check{a}z$ , 'greed (concupiscence),' and  $avarzōg$ , 'lust,' would answer to *concupiscentia* and *libido* in Augustine, *Opus imperfectum contra Julianum*, 3. ch. 186 and 187; 172, 175, 176 (Migne, P. L. 45. 1325 f., 1318 f.). [For a fuller list of TPhl. allusions to  $\check{A}z$  see the article by my former pupil Dr. G. C. O. Haas, 'The Zoroastrian Demon  $\check{A}z$  in the Manichaean Fragments from Turfan,' in *Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of Dastur D. P. Sanjana*, p. 193-195, London, 1925. For several additional mentions of  $\check{A}z$  in a TPhl. Fragment, T. III, 260 D, see Scheftelowitz, in *Zt. f. Ind. u. Iran.* (1926), 4. 317-319, cf. also p. 320-325; id. (with text and revised transl.) *Oriens Christianus* (1927), Dritte Serie I, p. 279-283].

In the Turkish Manichaean texts this dread fiend appears also as  $\check{A}z$  (=  $\check{A}z$ ), usually with the attribute  $ofutsuz$  ( $ovutsuz$ ) 'shameless'; for example, T. II, D. 178 II, line 8,  $\check{A}z ofutsuz suq yāk$ , 'Az the shameless Greed demon,' in Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3.

29 bot.; or again, *op. cit.* p. 19 mid. line 5, and p. 30 top, line 9, simply *Az yäk*, 'Az, the demon'; also in *Türk. Man.* 1. 16 bot. (of bodily greed for food and drink) *Az-ïng*, etc., 'thy Greed which is mixed with food and drink from without'; likewise, twice, *op. cit.* p. 17 mid. lines 17 and 19, *Az-ïng*, 'thy Greed'; furthermore, *Türk. Man.* 2. 7 top, lines 16-17, *Az-ïng ymä ol qamarγ [y]äklär orlanlarï*, 'thy Greed, moreover, (comes from) all the demons' sons.' Similarly, it would appear, and is generally accepted, that in the Turkish Manichaean Confession-Prayer this demon, though without mention of the name Az (*Äz*), is four times alluded to by the characteristic epithets *toñunčsuz ovutsuz soq yäk*, 'the insatiable and shameless Envy (Greed) Demon,' see Le Coq, *Khuastuanift*, in *JRAS.* 1911, p. 281 top, 295 mid., 297 bot., 298 mid. = id., *Chuastuanift*, in *AbhKPAW.* 1911, p. 9 top, 20 bot., 24 bot., 25 bot. In every instance Le Coq translates *soq yäk* by 'Envy-Demon' or as 'Neid-Dämon' and adduces (in *JRAS.* 1911, p. 360 n. 53) lexical authority for that meaning of *soq*, *suq*. [The rendering 'Greed demon' may now be supported through Bang, *Muséon* (1923), 36, p. 145, 163, 165, 167, since he translates in each case by 'Gier-Teufel.']

In the Chinese Manichaean documents this devil is equally recognized. The Chinese Manichaean Treatise (ed. and transl. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 523 mid., with n. 3 especially, 528 mid., 529 mid., 533 top) employs the designation *T'an-mo*, which these French scholars render by 'convoitise,' as representing the demon of covetousness, cupidity, or greed, and when accompanied by the usual companion *T'an-yü*, p. 526 top, 530 mid., and 537 top, they translate the pair by 'la convoitise et la concupiscence,' and refer back to their note on p. 524. [These two are likewise alluded to together in the Chinese Manichaean Hymn in Praise of Jesus, stanza 40 d, see text and translation by Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 104 with n. 7, where the German collaborators render by 'Begierde und Lust,' comparing them with *Äz* and *Avarzög* and similarly referring to the Chinese Treatise].

Among the non-Manichaean sources, reference has been made (p. 106) to Augustine, to which may be added *ἐπιθυμία*, tr. 'concupiscentia' in Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, ed. C. H.

Beeson, Leipzig, 1906, p. 18. 2; 19. 11 (bis); 20. 5; 21. 3. Important likewise are the Arabic allusions in an-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, ed. and tr. Flügel, in which Ar. *ḥirṣ*, 'avidity, greed, cupidity, covetousness,' Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.* p. 415, Flügel's 'Habgier,' corresponds to TPhl. *Āz*, while Ar. *ṣahwat*, 'lust, lasciviousness,' Steingass, p. 770, Flügel's 'Sinnenlust,' answers to TPhl. *Avarzōg*, the two Arabic terms being similarly linked together four times, twice in the order indicated and twice in one passage in the reverse order. The an-Nadīm passages (see Flügel, *Mani*) are, two for the first order *ḥirṣ*—*ṣahwat* (text), p. 58 bot., 71 top; (transl.) p. 91 top, 100 mid., and twice in one paragraph for the second order *ṣahwat*—*ḥirṣ*, p. 63 mid. (bis); (transl.) p. 94 bot.—95 top. It should be added, however, that this latter order does occur also in the second paragraph of our earliest mentioned passage (p. 58–59, tr. p. 90–91), according to the Vienna ms., but Flügel (p. 59 n. 2) correctly regards the words as an explanation, and rightly abides by the London ms. which has only *ḥirṣ*.

Throughout the long note above it is understood that TPhl. *Āz*, 'the mother of all fiends,' is to be taken in the sense of 'Greed, Concupiscence,' and *Avarzōg* as 'Lust,' even though that does not accord in all respects with *JA*. 1911, p. 524 n.

b 5. *ast*: this form (cf. NP. *hastē*) is here taken as a noun, 'being, entity,' Lat. *ens*, as in M. 17 v, 5–8 (= Mū. p. 26 mid., *všp ast 'ūd ḥarv čē būd vā bavād*, 'every being, and each who was and will be.' So also Bthl. p. 195 mid.

b 5. *čašmgāh*: lit. 'eye-place,' used as an adjective 'having eyesight, seeing.'

b 6. *āšqārag*: the same as BkPhl. *āškārah* (see West and Haug, *Glossary and Index of the Book of Arda Viraf*, p. 29, Bombay and London, 1874) and NP. *āškārah*, 'evident, manifest, clear.'

b 6–7. *bā nimūd*: 'showed forth'; on the verbal prefix *bā* see Sm. *MStud.* p. 53 bot. and id. *Manichaica*, 3. p. 36 bot. Similarly, *bā mānd*, 'it remained,' in Maḥrnāmag, line 185, Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 16 mid.

b 7. *ḡ*: see note above, a 30.

b 8. *taxtīhāy-ūš*: the form *taxtīhā* is the ordinary TPhl.



adverb; the *y* serves as a transfer to the vowel in the enclitic pronoun -ūš.

**b 10.** *padēn*: transcribed as *pidēn* by Müller, *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1083, 'fleischlich, leiblich,' is clear as to meaning, though not satisfactorily explained etymologically.

**b 13.** *nyyē* (*nay-īc*): i.e. *nē* + *īc*, cf. Bthl. pp. 62-64.

**b 13.** *vx d*: thus written *vx d* in Estrangelo, which Müller transcribes as *vakh d*, but the transliteration (qu. *vaxad*?) has been left open because the real signification of this word still remains problematical, although it is found seven times thus far in the Fragments. The occurrences are here (b 13) and below, d 31, and also in five other Turfan passages: M. 18 r, 7 (= Mü. p. 34 mid.); 32 v, 9-10 (= Mü. p. 64 top); 64 v, 9 (= Mü. p. 93 top); 177 v, 8, 10 (= Mü. p. 90 top); 554 r, 4, 5 (= Mü. p. 69 top); note also the uncertain M. 32 v, 5 (= Mü. p. 63 bot.). Müller questions his own rendering 'Versprechen?' as well as 'Wort'; nor will either of these meanings be found to suit in all passages, as Salemann, *MStud.* p. 75 bot., rightly observed. [P o s t - s c r i p t. The meaning and derivation of this vocable has since been made clear. Müller, *Doppeblatt* (1913), p. 39-40, was already on the right track when he noted several examples of *vx* for *xv* by metathesis in the way of writing the same word, among them (after Andreas) being *vxēbēh* = *xvēbēh*, 'own, oneself.' This helped toward the ultimate solution of the problem. The word *vx d* (*vxad*) is the Northern Dialect form for *xvad*, 'himself, itself, oneself'; see Scheftelowitz (on Frag. M. 7) in *Oriens Christianus* (1927), Dritte Serie I, p. 277 n. 2, where is noted, '*vxad*, "eigentlich" = Aw. *xʷatō*.' Cf. also *op. cit.* p. 264 n. 2, on *vxēbē* (*vx* for *xv*), with references to W. Lentz, in *Zt. f. Ind. u. Iran.* 4. 288, and to Tedesco, *Monde Or.* 15. 202. Thus in our own text we have two different spellings of this same word, in a 9 *xvad* and in b 13, d 31, *vxad*. In English the old Anglo-Saxon instr. *hwȳ*, 'why,' is still pronounced *hwȳ*, though spelled *why*.]

**b 14.** *bast(-)ānād*: see note above, a 7.

**b 16.** *rīstāhēz*: lit. 'dead-arising'; this term (with *h* here for *x*) is the ordinary word designating the resurrection of the dead in the Pahlavi books (*rīstāxēz*) and likewise in Modern Persian (*rīstāxēz*). The doctrine of the resurrection was a generally

accepted tenet in early Zoroastrianism (cf. Jackson, in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* 2. 686); but the Manichaeans denied this belief, at least as far as a bodily resurrection was concerned, as we learn from the polemical attacks on Manichaeism made in the ninth century by the author of the Pahlavi-Pāzand treatise Shikand-Gūmānīg Vīzhār, who states (16. 50) that according to them 'there shall not be a restoration of the dead, [and?] the body which is hereafter'—(Pāzand) *nē bahōt (bavēd) rist vīrāstārī [ū?] tan i pasīn*—see ed. H. J. Jāmāsp-Āsānā and E. W. West, p. 171, Bombay, 1887; and compare C. Salemann, 'Ein Bruchstück manichaeischen Schrifttums,' p. 20, in *Mémoires Acad. impér. sc. de St. Pétersbourg*, 1904; cf. also the translation below, in Study VI. [See my remarks on Dk. 3. 200. 13 n. 3, in *JRAS.* 1924, 226; below, p. 216]. It must be remembered, however, that the caption-heading of our fragment is 'ī Zīndakarī, 'of the Vivification'; and attention must likewise be drawn to M. 311 r, 5-7 (= Mü. pp. 66 bot.-67 top), *Mānī xvadāi zīndagar* ○ *ō zīvēnēd 'ō mūrdagānā 'ūd rōčēnēd 'ō tārigān*, 'the Lord Mānī, life-making one. He giveth life unto the dead and giveth light unto those in darkness.' [Furthermore, note now, as epithet of Jesus, *mūrdāhēz* in Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 120 bot., 121 mid., where W. and L. translate as 'Totenerwecker.' The context in the latter passage shows that the resurrection is of those who are spiritually dead through sin.] Possibly also compare the appeal for release from *zādmūrdā*, *zādmūrd*, lit. 'born-dead,' 'being born, being dead,' i.e. 'birth and death,' metempsychosis, M. 311 v, 5-7 (= Mü. p. 67 mid.), M. 38 v, 7-9 (= Mü. p. 77 mid.). [See my article in *JAOS.* (1925) 45. 267]. At all events the allusion in our present passage is interesting, in whatever light we are to view it. For some references of a general character in regard to the resurrection doctrine, see P. Alfarc, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, 2. 19, 34, 39, 106, 113, 158, 171, Paris, 1919.

b 16-17. *bū[d](-)ānād*: see note above, on a 7.

b 17. *varavīst-ūūš*: the verb here plainly begins a new clause, but there is no punctuation before it in the manuscript; with regard to the form *-ūūš* here for the pronoun *-ūš*, the vowel *u* is simply doubled in order to fill space, as not infrequently, at the end of the line. For the cognate noun *varavīšn*, see note on S. 7 a 10, below, p. 138.

b 20. *vīsp-āš*: on -āš consult note above, a 21.

b 21. *mūhr*: BkPhl. *mūhr*, NP. *mühr*, cf. Skt. *mudrā*, 'seal.' The allusion to the 'seal' of perfect peace is readily to be understood from the Manichaean tenet of the threefold moral seal of 'the mouth, hands, and bosom' to be preserved in the daily conduct of practical life, according to St. Augustine, *De moribus Manichaeorum*, 2. 10, *signacula oris et manuum et sinus*, and 'the three seals' (Arab. *xawātīm*) in an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Flügel, pp. 95, 289-291. The tenet is referred to in the Turfan Fragments themselves, M. 32 r, 6-7 (= Mü. p. 63 top), *mūhr 'ispūrig ēē man dast rūmb' ūd andēšišn*, 'the seal complete of my hand, mouth, and thought'; also the 'three seals,' *ūč t(a)m-yaqa*, of the Turkish Manichaean Confession-Prayer *Khuastuanift*, lines 320-321, ed. and tr. Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 298 bot. When we find an allusion to 'the f o u r light seals,' *tört y(a)ruq tam-ya*, in the same work, *Khuastuanift*, line 177 (Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 291 = id., *Chuastuanift*, p. 17, line 15, in *AbhKPAW.* 1911), these are to be interpreted as referring to spiritual or doctrinal seals, four articles of faith. [For a detailed exposition of the 'Four Light Seals' consult my article later in *JAOS.* (1924), 44. 68-72, reprinted below in Study XIII, section 3].

The origin of the threefold seal in Manichaeism appears to be Buddhistic (*kāya-vāc-citta*, 'body, word, thought'), although the trinity of 'thought, word, and deed' is a watchword throughout Zoroaster's ethical teachings; for that reason Chavannes and Pelliot (*JA.* 1911, p. 574 n. 1) are inclined to reserve a final judgment as to the origin of the tenet.

b 22. *xvāštrī*: see note below on *xvāštrī*, c 19; cf. also d 13, *xvāštrī*.

b 22. *vazīštrīhā*: adv., cf. Sm. *MStud.* p. 72; see adj. *vazīšt*, M. 40 r, 4; 75 v, 5 (= Mü. 2. p. 48 mid., 71 top). The meaning of *vazīšt* appears to be 'most active'; perhaps compare Av. *vāzišta*- (with long *ā*).

b 23. *č'v n (č'i'ōn)*: for *čigōn*, lit. 'of what color' (Av. *gaona*-, BkPhl. *gōn*, NP. *gōn*; and cf. NP. *čōn*, *čūn*, 'like, as'), see Bthl. pp. 76-77, and cf. Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 946. See also note above, a 16, and compare below *čōn* (or *čūn*), d 6.

b 24. *gūrd 'i qērdagār*: the title 'valiant hero' is to be understood as referring here to Ormazd (Primal Man); for the idea,

cf. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 20. 9, *Primum Hominem cum quinque elementis belligerantem*. Cf. also Cumont, *Recherches*, I. 17 n. 2. Etymologically the noun *gūrd* is the same as BkPhl. *gūrt*, NP. *gurd*; and the adjective *qērdagār*, lit. 'deed-doing,' i.e. 'valiant,' is to be compared with NP. *kardgar*, 'one who does' (on the formation of TPhl. \**kērdag-gār* cf. Bthl. p. 164 n. 2). Simply for the phrase itself recall (*Adamantem*) *heroam belligerum* used in another connection by St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 15. 6 (ed. Migne, *P. L.* 42. 309).

b 26. *b[ū?]d*: so Salemann, but the broken space in the word seems rather large.

b 27. *žāyedān*: by the side of this common word we find also in TPhl. *yāvēdān*, BkPhl. *yāvētān*, NP. *jāvēdān*, derived from Av. *yavaētiāt*-, 'eternity, forever'; see Bthl. pp. 73-74; Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 414; [cf. Lentz, *Zt. für Ind. u. Iran.* 4. 291].

b 28. *'ūl ahrāft*: this technical expression refers to the familiar Manichaean idea of the leading up of the particles of light to the supernal heaven after they have been purified through the agency of the moon and the sun. Cf. also M. 98 a 8, above. On the adverb *'ūl* see Bthl. pp. 35 top, 63 bot.; and for the formation of *ahrāft* consult Bthl. p. 64-65 notes.

b 29. *vaḥišt*: this is the regular designation for Heaven, Paradise, NP. *bahišt*; cf. Av. *vahišta ahu*, 'Best Life (or World).'

b 30. *parūxān*: thus here with *p*, or elsewhere *farūxān* (cf. BkPhl. *farūx*, NP. *farrūx*), 'the glorious, blessed,' used specifically of those enjoying beatitude in the realm of heaven; so M. 17 h 1 (= Mü. p. 27 top); 74 v, 18 (= Mü. p. 77 top); so also Maḥrnāmag, I. 376 (Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 26 mid.), *Mānī . . . farūx*, 'Mānī . . . the glorious, or blessed.' Similarly the abstract *parūxīy* is used in Maḥrnāmag, line 3, *dō parūxīy*, 'the twofold glory, or felicity' (in this world and hereafter), line 209, *pad parūxīy 'i marī Dōšist*, 'through the glory of the holy Doshist' (see Müller, *Doppelblatt*, pp. 9 top, 17 mid.).

After this word here there is no mark of punctuation, but the sense is complete and this portion at least of the fragment appears to end. As to the continuation see next note.

b 31-32. The two red lines here are illegible because the carmine ink with which they were written has faded, not having

withstood the lapse of ages as has the black ink. These lines, occurring in the column itself, probably contained a few words to conclude the Section and serve as an explanatory introduction to this Second Section, in which division the first personal pronoun refers evidently to some disciple who is represented as addressing to Mānī (d 30) certain questions with regard to the life hereafter; the Master's answer to each of these is given, thus making a dialogue:—

Disciple: b 33-34, c 1-8; c 15-20; c 24-30.

Mānī: c 9-14; c 21-23; c 30-34, d 1-29.

**b 33-34.** *šāhriyār ariyāmān*: title applied here to Mānī. The term *ariyāmān* (derived from Av. *airyaman*-, 'comrade, friend, Airyaman'—a personification familiar in Zoroastrianism) is found also in M. 17 g (= Mū. p. 26 bot., cf. Mū. p. 27 note); 324. 18 (= Mū. p. 75 top).

**b 34.** 'v v m ('ūm): this is here taken as 'ū-m, 'and me' (so Salemann, p. 34 bot.), cf. note on 'ū-š, a 4, above. The vowel-letter v is doubled as a space-filler, cf. b 17 above.

#### Notes on S. 9 verso, column c

**c, o.** *MAĪDĀN* *ĀG*[///]*ĀN*: the first word seems surely to be identifiable through the familiar Persian word *maidān*, 'field.' For the second, with its internal lacuna, it would be idle to suggest an *ān*-plural of TPhl. *agrāv*, 'pure, unstained, spotless,' cf. Sm. p. 34 mid.; Sm. *MStud.* p. 45 mid. Possibly a better suggestion would be to read as *ĀG*[*ĀDAG*]*ĀN*, from TPhl. *āgādag*, which occurs several times (in Mū. 2. p. 63 bot., 66 top, 90 mid.). Salemann, *MStud.* p. 130 top (addendum) translates by 'botschafter,' and develops the idea from a pass. ptcpl. \**ā-kāta*, 'herbeigewünscht, erkoren, beauftragt, bote(?)'. Apparently this was the view later of Müller, *Doppelblatt* . . . *Mahrnāmag*, p. 23, line 330, *āfrīdag* 'īm rōč *āgādag*, 'gesegnet dieser Tag, der \*erwünschte,' and p. 21, line 264, 'ō man *daḥāh* *āgādag*, 'mir gewähre den Wunsch.' Judging from the various passages, the word *āgādag* would appear to be a pass. ptcpl. used (1) as adj., 'wished-for, desired, chosen,' (2) as noun, 'wish, choice.' If that should be right, our caption *maīdān*

*āg[ādag]ān* would mean 'the wished-for field(s),' i.e. elysium, paradise. The absence of a connective ('*ig*') prevents translating 'field of desires.' [The word *āgādag* in M. 177 (= Mü. p. 90 mid., referred to above) is rendered 'Wunsch,' by Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntniss d. mittelliran. Mundarten*, 2. 48 note, and 3. 45 (Nachtrag)].

c 1. *abḥūm*: Salemann (p. 13) rendered this word tentatively as an imperative, 'belere (?),' and in his glossary (p. 34 top) regards the final *m* as the enclitic pronoun. At Dr. Ogden's suggestion I have analyzed the form as *ab-hūm*, the first element being the well-known prefix *ab-*, 'off, un-,' cf. the notes on *abgūḥag*, M. 98 d 16 above, and on *abrūst-ḥēm*, c 26-27 below. The second element, *-hūm*, is to be connected with *niḥūm*, 'guard' (imper.), in M. 4, p. 7, lines 2-3 (cf. note on *niḥūmbānd*, S. 7 c 5-6 below). The primary meaning of the root seems to be 'cover, hide' (cf. note on *niḥūmbāgān*, S. 7 b 16 below), which is strengthened by the prefix *ni-*; and it seems logical to suppose that the compound with *ab-* would have the reverse signification, cf. Lat. *operio*, 'cover,' and *aperio* (*\*ap-verio*), 'open.' I have therefore rendered the word in accordance with this etymology as 'disclose.'

c 2. *fr y ḥ s t v m* (*farēḥistōm*): a superlative adjective, as in M. 4 p. 2, line 6 (= Mü. p. 52 bot.). Regarding the meaning 'most glorious' consult the remarks on S. 7 a 9, in Study IV, p. 137 mid., below. The phrase here, *pūs 'i farēḥistōm*, 'son of the Most Glorious,' compare in line c 28, *pūs 'i dōšist*, 'son of the Most Loved,' I would interpret as referring to Mānī (cf. d 30), regarded as the son of the Supreme Being, Zarvān, the Father of Greatness.

c 3. *zamān*: this familiar word for 'time' occurs frequently in the TPhl. Fragments (see Sm. *MStud.* p. 79; id. *Manichaica*, 4. 39) and is well known in BkPhl. Its derivation, however, appears to be uncertain. West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 149-150, cite Heb. *zemān*, also found in Chaldaean and Syriac, as well as Arabic, but they add: 'it appears, however, to have been originally a foreign word in the Semitic languages.' This latter statement may be open to question. Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* § 659, gives no etymology, but records 'hebr. chald. *zemān*, "Zeit" (A. T.),' including NP. and Arm. equivalents. Horn, *GrIPh.* I. 2. p. 6, makes the inquiry: 'Wie verhält sich ferner aram. hebr. *zemān*

arab. *zamān* "Zeit" zu phlv. *zamān*, *zamānak* np. *zamān*, *zamāna* "Zeit"? Since no satisfactory etymology has thus far been forthcoming from the Iranian side, it would seem that we must look for further suggestions from the Semitists. [Scheftelowitz, *Zeitschr. f. Ind. u. Iran.* (1926) 4. 333 n. 4, holds *zamān* to be a Semitic word and refers to Assyr. *simānu*, Hebr. *zāmān*, Arab. *zamān*; furthermore cf. H. Junker, 'Über iranische Quellen,' in *Vorträge der Bibl. Warburg*, 1921-1922, p. 156 mid.]

c 3. 'i-ṭ: see Bthl. p. 86 bot.

c 6. ' y y (*aaṛ*, *āyē*): on the spelling cf. Bthl. pp. 28-29.

c 7. *vičihāg-ūm*: lit. 'my teaching one'—a noun-usage of the present ptcl. of \**vičistan*, 'to teach, instruct, expound'; cf. Sm. p. 49 mid.; Sm. *MStud.* p. 77 mid.

c 7. *gū abar*: written somewhat crowdedly in the manuscript, so as to look almost like a single word; for the phrase see below, c 25, and compare in general above, b 33-c 3.

c 8. š̄: concerning š̄ written with two points over it see note above, a 22; compare furthermore below, d 22-23, *zamān* 'iš *nīšānān*.

c 9. *gūāgān ardāvān*: lit. 'the speaking ones (are)' etc. For the phraseology cf. below, c 21, *zīrān ardāvān*, 'the wise (are) the righteous.'

c 9. *ardāvān*: plural of the familiar derivative adjective *ardāv*, 'righteous,' in the Fragments (cf. Av. *ərəta-*, *aša-*, Skt. *ṛtá*). Cf. also c 21.

c 10. *vičidagān*: this term in the Fragments is the familiar designation of the Manichaean *Electi*, *Perfecti*, 'Ἐκλεκτοί; the *Ṣiddiqūn* of the *Fihrist*, Flügel, p. 283-284.

c 10. *čē*: 'for'; Salemann here transcribes this word in Hebrew characters as *čy-y*; but the *č* is simply written with its tail somewhat prolonged calligraphically and knobbed, so that it looks like an additional *y* (*ī*, *ē*), just as again below, c 23, d 22. For examples of this common conjunction see Sm. *MStud.* p. 121 top, and add *čē-š*, 'for he,' Maḥrnāmag, l. 179 etc., Müller, *Doppelblatt*, pp. 13, 16, etc.

c 11. *mānāg*: present participle from the common *māndan*, 'to remain, abide,' cf. Sm. p. 43 top; Sm. *MStud.* p. 94 bot.

c 12. *šahr*: cf. Av. *xšaθra-*, 'rule, kingdom, realm,' in its widest religious sense.

**c 12.** *zar-ū-zan*: the reading and signification of this was not clear to Salemann, p. 12; but we have here plainly the common conjunction *ū*, 'and,' between two closely connected nouns (see note above, a 30); the whole idea that 'gold and women, property and wealth' do not corrupt the Elect is entirely in accord with the well-known teachings of Manichaeism. Besides the familiar sources of information regarding this subject, compare also the *Khuastuanift*, lines 249-251 (Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 295 = id., *Chuastuanift*, p. 20 mid., ll. 1-3) and the additional allusion in the Turkish Manichaean Confession from Yār-Choto, T. II, Y 59, ll. 1-6 (ed. and tr. Le Coq, *Chuast.* in *AbhKPWW.* 1911, p. 27). Cf. also T. II, D 173 r, 4-5, in Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. p. 15.

**c 12-13.** *gēh ȳ xwāstag*: these two nouns have direct cognates in Av. *gaēθā-*, and BkPhl. *xwāstak*, used in a similar sense respectively. For the conjunction *ȳ* see note above, a 30.

**c 13.** *n n y s ' n d* (*ninēsānd*): Salemann, p. 10, 43, transcribed this verb doubtfully as *nādispēnd* and rendered it conjecturally, p. 12, as 'achten (?)', with an interrogation-mark. But a prolonged study of the word under a magnifying-glass has resulted in the decipherment of the letters as I have indicated (*n n y s ' n d*), which I read as *ninēsānd*.

The sense of the passage requires that this verb contain approximately either the idea of 'to corrupt,' in case the preceding words are the subject, or else the idea of 'to seek after,' in case the preceding words are the object.

In the former case (= 'these will not corrupt them') one might possibly recall from above, a 5, the term *n n s*, 'corruption,' and mention from the Soghdian, T. II, B 67, line 3, *nēsāt*, 'verdirbt,' Müller, *Soghd. Texte*, p. 1, in *AbhKPWW.* 1913.

In the latter case (= 'they will seek not after'), with the preceding words as object, one might be tempted to compare the Av. derivative noun *naēnaēstar-*, 'a seeker after, one who busies himself with' (see Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 1035, with cognates), although the *s* would then be somewhat hard to explain.

On the whole, at present, the translation 'do not corrupt them' seems to me to be the more likely.

**c 14.** [*īm rāi*]: this reading is correct.



c 14. *mūrziḥēnd*: 'they are absolved, pardoned, forgiven,' see below, c 20, 22; d 6, 7; and compare BkPhl. *āmūrziān*, NP. *āmurziān* (Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 49; cf. also Bthl. p. 27 top, 31 mid. note). For the common formation of the passive with *ḥ* see Bthl. p. 71 n. 1, p. 154 top.

c 15. *ḥā*: this interrogative-exclamatory particle is found often in the Judaeo-Persian texts, according to Sm. p. 40 top.

c 15. *xēšmēn*: 'wrathful,' cf. Av. *aēšma-*, 'wrath,' BkPhl. *xēšm*, NP. *xišm*.

c 16. *pād(i)kšāi*: thus written here, with *k* for *x* (*kh*); cf. BkPhl. *pātiḥšāi* and *pādaxšah*, NP. *pādšāh*, *pādišāh*, 'monarch, sovereign,' derivative from OP.  $\sqrt{xšā(y)} + patiy$ , 'to rule over.' For the form cf. Bartholomae, 'Zum Sas. Recht,' I. 5 n. 5, in *SbHeidelbergAW*. 1918.

c 16. *dā 'ō k y y (kēy)*: lit. 'until to when'; on the form *kēy* (spelled with *g* below, c 20) see Bthl. p. 42 § 27.

c 17. *hamēv*: 'ever,' so also in M. 74 v, 6 (= Mū. p. 76 mid.); 733 v, 7 (= Mū. p. 32 mid.), cf. Sm. *MStud.* p. 84 bot.

c 17. *š' y y ḥ y d (šāyēḥēd)*: cf. OP.  $\sqrt{xšā(y)}$ , 'to rule.' The idea in this passage (lines 15-18) very remotely recalls a tone in the Zoroastrian Gathas, e.g. Ys. 44. 20; 48. 5, but without there being any precise parallel.

c 18. *vīdrāi 'ūd nāf*: see note above, a 23.

c 19. *xvāšitī*: 'goodly concord, peace, love'; see also b 22, above, and d 13, below, *xvāšitī*, and cf. *xvāšitīh* in M. 4. p. 7, line 5 (= Mū. p. 57 bot.), for which spelling (*-itīh*) see Bthl. p. 28 top. This abstract (cf. Sm. *MStud.* p. 42) is derived from *hū + āšitī* (*āšitīh*, BkPhl. *āšitīh*, which latter is the ordinary version of Av. *āxšiti-*, 'peace, accord, concord,' cf. NP. *āšitī*, Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.* p. 64); Sm. p. 13 renders it in our passage by 'ergebenheit.' The idea contained in this cardinal Manichaean word, which is that of perfect conduct and harmony, may be compared with the pregnant term *amranmag*, in the Turkish Confession-prayer, Khuastuanift, line 178, used of the Seal of Love, or tranquility, quiet, see Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 291; cf. espec. p. 304 n. 35.

c 21. *zīrān*: 'the wise (are) the righteous,' see note above, c 9. Plural of the adj. *zīr* (see b 14, *zī[r]*, and Maḥrnāmag, line 217), cf.

BkPhl. *zīrak*, NP. *zīrak*; and see Sm. *MStud.* p. 79 bot.; Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 681.

c 21. 'z: here as rel. pron. plur., cf. Sm. p. 44 bot.; Sm. *MStud.* p. 105 bot.; Bthl. p. 86 mid.

c 22. *gū-am* (*gu<sup>o</sup>-am*): 'tell me'; on the form see Sm. p. 13 n. 10.

c 23. *kū-šān*: *kū* is the ordinary conjunction (BkPhl. *kū*, NP. *kah*) regularly used in introducing a quotation; *-šān* is the common enclitic pron. plur.

c 23. *čē*: 'what,' here interrog.-rel., cf. Sm. p. 47 bot.; Sm. *MStud.* p. 120 bot. On the style of writing the *č* compare note above, c 10.

c 23. *pād(i)šnōhr*: such is the correct reading of this noun here, the vowel sign *y* (*i*) being omitted in the text and also in the verb *pād(i)šnōhrēd*, below, d 28. Salemann rightly follows the text in his Hebrew transliteration (p. 10), although in his glossary (p. 46 mid.) he inserts the *y* (*i*) in both instances. Regarding the etymology compare the common word Av. *xšnaoθra-*, 'satisfaction, propitiation'; therefore the derivative *pādišnōhr* (or *pādīšnōhr*) would presuppose a strengthened Av. form *\*pāiti-xšnaoθra-*, 'satisfaction in return' = 'requital, recompense, reward.'

c 24. *hwāmūžd(-)tōxm*: thus to be taken together as a compound (cf. also *āzād(-)tōxm*, Maḥrnāmag, line 422). The meaning is lit. 'thou of well-forgiven seed,' i.e. 'of a family sanctified,' to whom mercy or forgiveness is assured. This interpretation is based upon the provision that, with Sm. p. 40 top, Sm. *MStud.* p. 54 top, we are to connect the radical with the verbal root *mūrz-*, above c 14, and to associate with it TPhl. *āmūždēft*, 'forgiveness, pardon, mercy' (in M. 4. p. 1, l. 15 = Mü. p. 52 top), and *āmūžd*, 'pardon,' *āmūždgar*, 'pardoner' (in Maḥrnāmag, ll. 273-275 = Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 21). In such case, on *žd* for *ržd* compare Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 261 mid., where, among other examples, is cited NP. *muštan*, 'to rub,' from *\*mrštan* (Av. *marz-*). Similarly, Bthl. *ZumAirWb.* p. 34, 206, connects *āmūždēft* with Av. *mərəždā-*, 'verzeihen, barmherzig, gnädig sein.' By the side of the forms in *āmūžd*, there are found also those in *āmūrzd*, cf. note on c 14. We must exclude the idea

of connecting the TPhl. word *āmūšd* with NP. *āmūšīdan*, 'to learn, to teach.' [Cf. further, Lentz, *Zt. f. Ind. u. Iran.* 4. 262, 275].

c 26-27. *abrāst-hēm*: to be taken together as a compound adjective. The real meaning of the word *abrāst* is not quite certain. I am inclined to see in it the common adjective *rāst*, 'right, just,' with *ab* < *ap* < *apa*, 'away,' as in Av. *apa-xšaθra-*, 'away from rule, deposed,' *apa-gaya-*, 'departure from life,' *apa-stūti-*, 'denunciation, disclaiming'; cf. also BkPhl. *apa-gūmānīh*, 'without doubt'; the signification of *abrāst(-)hēm* would then be 'of unjust (or perverted) nature.' But the matter is not sure. Salemann, p. 34 mid., renders *abrāst* as ptcpl., 'erhoben' = 'hochmütig, stolz,' comparing BkPhl. *aprāstō*, but without giving any citation in support.

For the substantive *hēm*, 'nature, character,' compare BkPhl. *hēm* or *xēm*, NP. *xīm*, and Av. *haya-*, 'nature, kind, characteristics,' cf. Bthl. *Altiran. Wb.* 1781; also see Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 516. Regarding the interchange of *h* and *x* consult further the note above on b 16, *rīstāhēz*, and likewise on M. 99 d 25, *s(i)hēn*, above, p. 70.

c 28. *dōšīst*: consult note on c 2, as to the interpretation. The adjective here means 'most friendly, most beloved'—a superlative from the common radical found in OP. *dauštar-*, NP. *dōšt*, 'friend'; Av. *zaoša-*, 'desire,' and their cognates. The form *dōšīst* also occurs in S. 34 a 2 (= Sm. p. 26 mid.), and in Maḥrnāmag, ll. 195, 210, ed. Müller, *Doppelblatt*, pp. 16, 17.

c 29. *vičīst*: cf. note on c 7 above.

c 29-30. *čē-m-iš pūrsīd*: lit. 'what by me he was asked,' i.e. 'what I asked him,' see note on a 2 and compare *čē-m*, 'that I,' *čē-š*, 'as he,' Maḥrnāmag, ll. 224, 179, ed. Müller, *Doppelblatt*, pp. 17, 16. [Cf., similarly, Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntniss d. mittelliran. Mundarten*, 3. 45].

c 30. *žūtar*: this comparative adjective is taken by Salemann, pp. 13 bot., 39 bot., as 'verschiden,' like BkPhl. *žūtar* (*žavītar*), 'distinct,' lit. 'more than separate,' cf. NP. *judā*, 'separate, divided, distinct'; also cf. Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 418. But on account of d 1-2, *nazdīk mad frāč hān zamān*, 'it has come near to that time,' it might seem possible to connect rather with the

common Phl. *zūt*, NP. *zūd*, 'quick,' in the sense that the time is near at hand, 'very soon' (thus with *ž* for *z*, as often—and compare for the formation Salemann, *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* I. I, p. 286 § 61 n. 1). In either case the allusion is to the approaching end of the world, the final stage of which, according to Mānī, will be accompanied by a general conflagration or ekpyrosis of the universe, lasting 1468 years—see M. 470. 1 (= Mū. p. 19 bot.) and compare the Fihrist, pp. 75, 90, 104 ('the Great Fire'), 235, 236, \*esp. the notes and refs. pp. 236–237, 379; Kessler, pp. 235 bot., 393 top. Hence the tenor of expectancy in the lines immediately following.

c 31. *razmāh*: plur. of *razm*, 'conflict, struggle,' which occurs in M. 554 r, 6 (= Mū. p. 69 top), and in S. 13 a 4 (= Sm. p. 18 bot.); compare NP. *razm*, 'battle,' and Av. √ *raz*, 'to arrange battle,' *rasman-*, 'battle-array.' Cf. also note below on 7 c 10, *razmyōz*. The allusion here to 'conflicts' (*razmāh*) appears to imply that there will be final combats between the powers of good and evil shortly before the end of the world. Possibly similar may be a fragmentary line of a list alphabetically arranged, Frag. S. line 12 (Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 2, 6 = *M.Stud.* p. 32' cf. p. 88 mid. *kārčār*), which reads, 'About the twenty-two battles (*kārčār*),' but even that allusion is not clear, though the word *kārčār*, 'battles,' corresponds in meaning to our *razmāh*, 'conflicts.,

c 32. *sārān*: see note on c 30, end, for a suggested explanation of 'the years.' Salemann, p. 13 n. 11, expresses grave doubts regarding his own translation: 'Verschiden sind für jener zeit kämpfe die jare gegen die zeiten, wann wie wasser in den augen sie dahin eilen,' but the sense is in general clear.

c 32. *h m y y s* (*hamēs*): this word occurs five other times thus far: M. 470 r, 12, 19 (= Mū. p. 20 mid., bot.); 472 v, 10 (= Mū. p. 19 mid.); 4 d. 9 (= Mū. p. 53 mid.); and Maḥrnāmag, I. 221 (ed. Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 17 bot.). In the first four instances the meaning seems to be (adj. or perhaps adv.) 'combined, united, together'; but in the last instance, Maḥrnāmag, and also here, the sense appears to be (prep.) 'combined with, together with.' For the derivation possibly compare Av. √ *myas* + *ham*, 'to mix together, combine (in equal proportion).' Perhaps the idea is 'be balanced against.' [A similar derivation

for the related Pahlavi word *hamist*, as 'zusammen mit,' later noticed (1922), had been proposed by Bartholomae, 'Zumsasanid. Recht III,' in *Sb. Heidelberger Ak.* 1920, Abh. 18, p. 33-39, although he makes no mention of our *hamēs*].

c 33. 'v' m' n (*āvāmān*): Sm. p. 34 top gives 'zeiten,' and translates conjecturally, p. 13, 'gegen die zeiten.' My own suggestion is to connect *āvāmān* (plur.) with NP. *āvām*, 'debt,' i.e. 'a liability, obligation, responsibility,' traceable back to BkPhl. *āvām* (written *āpām*). The allusion in our passage is to the burden of liabilities and responsibilities, as sins, to be met and accounted for at the impending 'End of the World.' This TPhl. word is found also twice in the *Maḥrnāmag* (ed. Mü. *Doppelblatt*, p. 16, 17). In the first occurrence (line 180) Müller leaves it untranslated, but the context shows that *āvām nē būd* means 'there was no obligation.' In the second instance (lines 215-216) *āvām būrdan* (infin. as noun) signifies 'the carrying out of an obligation, taking the responsibility'; Müller's 'das Sorge-tragen' was on the right track. For NP. *āvām* see Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 131; Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 19, 122, 135. [Furthermore, for BkPhl. *āvām* (written *āpām*), but only available to me in 1922, see Bartholomae, 'Zum sas. R. I,' in *Sb. Heidelberg. Ak.* 1918, 5te Abh., p. 40-43, where he transliterates as *āpām* and translates by 'Anleihe, Schuld,' yet makes no mention of our TPhl. *āvām*. Professor Louis Ginzberg, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, has since (May 6, 1930) informed me that 'b' m, or *ābām*, in this sense of 'debt,' etc., occurs in a medieval Hebrew text as a loan-word from Middle Persian].

c 33-34. č' v n (*či'ōn*) *āb pad dīdān davēnd*: the reading is certain; the idea is that the years of sorrow run as rapidly as tears flow; cf. c 30, 32.

#### Notes on S. 9 verso, column d

d 1. *frāč*, 'forwards, towards,' cf. Av. *fraš*, BkPhl. *frāč*, NP. *farāz*. Cf. also Sm. *MStud.* 1. p. 117 top.

d 2. *rūzdān*: rendered according to the citation and translation of Sm. pp. 13, 48 top, 'girig, raubgirig,' therefore 'ravaging, outrageous,' or the like.

d 3. *aḫlamōgān*: the same as the technical word Av. *ašəmaoγa-* (*artəmaoγa-*), 'who confounds righteousness, heretic,' etc.

d 5. *tū*: alludes apparently to the disciple addressed, cf. note on b 31-32.

d 5. *xēšmēn*: see note above, c 15. The text here shows a single dot or point after this word as a punctuation-mark, which is required by the sense. There was no space to add the usual double point for the period.

d 6. *čūn-išān*: or *čōn-išān*, see note above, b 23.

d 7. *mūrziḏ*: the subject appears to be the godhead. In the account of the Judgment that is found in Frag. 475 a 1-15 (= Mü. 2. p. 11), as based upon Matt. 25. 31-45, the 'Lord of the Realm of Wisdom' (Jesus) gives the righteous a blessing, though he will, for justice' sake, later take account of their minor shortcomings. [See Jn. *JAOS.* (1930), 50. 191. In our present passage it is equally possible to translate lines 7-8: 'They will be forgiven, since they have forgiven (lit. since by them it has been forgiven),' and to see in it a reminiscence of the New Testament, Matt. 6. 14, 'For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your Heavenly Father will also forgive you.']

d 7. *tōzēnd*: cf. NP. *tōxtan*, 'to pay a debt.' Before this verb here Salemann, p. 10, erroneously inserts a double punctuation-mark in his Hebrew transliteration; but it is not warranted either by the manuscript or by the sense. [Cognate with this verb *tōzēnd* is the BkPhl. noun *tōžišn*, 'payment, requital,' which occurs frequently in the Sasanian legal texts, see Bartholomae, 'Zum sasanid. Recht V,' in *Sb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.* 1923, 9te Abh., p. 15, 16, 24].

d 8. *vinast*: for the occurrences and etymology of this verbal form (written also *vīnast*, *vīnast*, *vīnāst*) see Bthl. p. 232.

d 8. 'v y š' n: or 'ōēšān; regarding this pronoun and the question of its transliteration see Bthl. p. 150 n., and also Sm. *M.Stud.* p. 161 bot.

d 10-11. *griyēnd* . . . *xanēnd*: a natural antithesis, though somewhat recalling Luke, 6. 21 end, 'Blessed are ye that weep now, for ye shall laugh,' compare the Mod. Pers. NT. transl. *griyānēd* . . . *xanēd*. Cf. BkPhl. *xantitan*, NP. *xandīdan*, 'to laugh,' and NP. *xandah*, 'laughter.'

d 12. *sōgvār*: see note above, a 23; and for the meaning compare NP. *sōgvār*, 'mournful, sad,' Skt. *śoka*-, 'grief'; hence 'grieved, suffering, patient.'

d 12-13. *nāf* 'i *xvāšī*: cf. note above, c 19.

d 13. *bavād*: the force of the subjunctive here is certainly to be understood as indicating a promise for the future, rather than as an exhortation as to how the faithful shall behave.

d 14. *rūyīšn*: 'growth, increase,' i.e. prosperity hereafter; so best to be taken with Sm. p. 48 mid., cf. Av. √ *rud*-, 'to grow,' *raoda*-, 'increase,' BkPhl. *rōdišn* or *rūdišn*, rather than connected in any way with BkPhl. *rūbišn*, 'a going, progress.'

d 14. *paḥrēzīšn*: this theological term is an abstract from \**paḥrēxtan*, with its frequent Turfan forms *paḥrēzēnd* etc., and denotes 'abstinence, restraint, self-control,' hence 'sanctity, purity,' the latter sense being in common use among the Parsis today. It is to be directly associated with BkPhl. *pāhrēž*, *ōišn*, 'abstinence, forbearance,' *pāhrēxtan*, 'to abstain, refrain, preserve,' NP. *parhēz*, 'abstinence, chastity,' *parhēznāh*, 'abstaining from sin'; and it is probably cognate with Av. √ *rič* + *paiti*, 'lay aside, relinquish.' See Salemann, in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* 1. 1, p. 300 n. 1; Bthl. pp. 52 n., 64 top, 73 top, 180 mid.; Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 309; Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* pp. 40 mid., 267 top.—Salemann, p. 46 bot., renders *paḥrēzīšn* 'bewahrung'; Müller, pp. 11 bot., 15 bot., 16 mid., 55 top, translates the several verbal forms of the radical by 'beschützen, hüten.' [Cf. also W. Lentz, *Zt. f. Ind. u. Iran.* (1926), 4. 298].

The interpretation of this sentence and the next lines contains a slight problem as to the division. The Estrangelo text does not give any punctuation mark, though we might expect one, after *paḥrēzīšn*. Salemann recognized this fact by not adding it in his transliterating into Hebrew characters, nor did I insert any in my transcription above into Roman. Salemann's translation, however, indicates a slight pause (comma), as it reads: '(Wer) bekümmert und ein spross der ergebnheit (ist, im) wird werden wachstum und bewahrung, [observe comma] höher als alle sekten und geschlechter herrscht diser lere gerechtigkeit.' The word 'alle' he inserts by way of interpretation. I am inclined to assume a somewhat heavier punctuation (semicolon) and

translate: 'The grieved one and kinsman of goodly concord will have increase and sanctification; the holiness of this religion ruleth higher than creeds and communities.' It is of course possible (see note below on d 16) to regard the small point after *nāfān* and before *šāyehēd* as a punctuation mark and begin a new short sentence, as simply in praise of Mānī's religion: 'The holiness of this religion will rule'; but that does not seem so satisfactory.

d 15-16. *qēšān 'ūd nāfān*: the form *kēš* (written also *qēš*) in the singular is best taken here as identical with the old-time word Av. *\*tkaēša-*, 'religious teaching, faith,' BkPhl. *kēš*, NP.-*kēš*, and occurs several times in the much broken fragment S. 12 c 26, 28, 38, 40 (= Sm. p. 17); furthermore, as here, the plural *kēšān* (written also *qēšān*) occurs in S. 12 c 27 (= Sm. p. 17); M. 473b (Sm. c) v, 5 (= Mü. p. 24 top); Maḥrnāmag, l. 221. It would not be so good here to connect with Av. *\*tkaēša-*, 'teacher.'

Regarding the word *nāf* see note above, a 20, but the full connotation of the plural *nāfān* (from *nāf*, lit. 'navel') is not yet wholly clear, whether used in the sense of 'sources, origins, kinsfolk,' or, perhaps, 'centers, pivots,' with the implied idea of points of religious doctrine. I incline towards the former interpretation, and accordingly have rendered by 'communities.'

d 16. *š 'y h y d* (*šāyahēd*): with regard to punctuation, a point (.) before this word is clearly discernible, but its significance is uncertain. The discussion above (d 14 end) allowed that one might possibly regard it as indicating that the sense was complete in the preceding sentence, to which is added the present clause containing Mānī's assurance as to the truth of his own religion (*dēn ardāh*), but it was there pointed out that such an interpretation seemed less likely.

d 17. *'r d 'y h* (*ardāh*): cf. Bthl. p. 11 n. 4.

d 19. *viyābānd*: on the verbal prefix see Sm. *MStud.* p. 165 bot.

d 19-20. *čašmagān . . . zīndagān*: the phrase, though natural, reminds one indirectly of Rev. 7. 17, 'shall lead them unto living fountains of waters.' [An allusion to the Water of Life is found in the Chinese Manichaean text H, stanza 391 c . . ., W. and L. *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 123].

d 21. *f r s r 'y y d* (*frasarāyēd*): the latter part of this word is



somewhat crowded in the text (including apparently a dot underneath), but the verbal formation is assured; cf. also Bthl. p. 75 bot., *arsak. \*frsrāyēt*. Salemann here transcribes (Heb.) *f r s r y y d*.

d 23. *ʾiṣ nīšānān*: see note above, c 8, on *š nīšānān*.

d 24. *xvanīhīst*: the idea (pass.) is, 'it is sung by,' etc. Salemann (p. 14) translates: 'Geprisen sind die herbei gefürten (?)'. I have associated *xvan*<sup>o</sup> (here short *ā*) with NP. *xwānandah* (for *xwānandah*), 'a crier, singer'; see Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 489. We have also TPhl. *xwānīhād* (with long *ā*) twice in Mü. 2. p. 18 mid., 24 top. Concerning passive formations compare Bthl. pp. 71 n. 1, 72; also Sm. p. 42 mid. (pass.).

d 24. *ānīdagān*: 'those led hither,' i.e. 'inducted, initiated, consecrated,' cf. Av. √ *nī-*, 'to lead,' Skt. *ā* + *nī-*. Such may be taken to be the explanation of this derivative adjective used with a special religious connotation.

d 25. *vīhādān*: this once-used word (pass. ptcpl. = adj. plur.) I would interpret as 'those set apart, selected, the Elect' (cf. c 10, *vīčīdagān*), and would connect etymologically with the early usage of the root Av. *dā-* (orig. *dhā-*) + *vi*, 'to set apart, divide,' in Av. *vīdāyaṭ*, *vīdāiti*, *vīdāta-*. For *h* (*h*) orig. *dh*, see Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 198 § 92. On the formation, furthermore, cf. *nīhādag*, 'deposited,' Maḥrnāmag, line 188 (Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 16). [Cf. furthermore, W. Lentz, *Zt. f. Ind. u. Iran.* (1926), 4. 297].

d 26. *dafēdagīh*: the reading is correct, and I would make the following suggestion as to the meaning and etymology of this word, which has hitherto not been quotable.

The form *dafēdagīh* is to be taken as an ordinary derivative abstract (*-īh*) based on *dafēdag* from *\*daftan*, 'to write' (cf. BkPhl. *raftan*, 'to go,' *rapēd*), which is contained in the well-known word *daftar*, 'book, record, account' (recall also the old loan-word Indo-Iranian *dipi-*, *lipi-*, 'writing, inscription'; Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 61; Horn, *Neupers. Etym.* § 540). The meaning would therefore be 'reckoning, account, record.'

This interpretation brings out a new and important point—namely the fact that the present passage contains an allusion to the survival in Manichaeism of the familiar Zoroastrian doctrine

of the reckoning, or account, demanded of the soul in the life hereafter (cf. Jackson, *A Hymn of Zoroaster*, p. 45-46; idem, 'The Ancient Persian Doctrine of a Future Life,' in *Biblical World*, 8. 154, Chicago, 1896; (revised further) in *Religion and the Future Life*, ed. E. H. Sneath, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1922, p. 127. See furthermore the next note, on d 27. [Cf. further, Jackson, *JAOS.* 43. 22-24; id. *Zoroastrian Studies*, p. 134.]

d 27. *avīštābēdagāh*: lit. 'established lordship, steadfast governance,' i.e. upright stewardship. I take this compound as made up of *avīštā*, 'constitutus' (cf. Bthl. pp. 31 n., 37 mid., 84 mid., 138 n.), plus the abstract formation *bēdagāh*, 'lord-ship.' This gives an excellent meaning in connection with the preceding word (see note on d 26) and has a far-reaching religious significance.

d 28. *pādišnōhrēd*: see note on c 23, above.

d 29. *zīhr*: 'life'; for the corresponding adj. *zīhrēn*, 'living,' see M. 176 r, 1 (= Mū. p. 60 top).

d 31. *xxad*: = *xxad*, 'himself,' see note on b 13, above.

d 33. *t?a[g?]*: so Salemann conjectures; but the matter is uncertain, as only the tail of a letter *t* can be made out, and there is no *g*, as the text is broken. If the conjecture to read *tagīg* would be defensible, we might observe that the *Zand-Pahlavi Glossary*, ed. Hoshang and Haug, Bombay, 1867, gives on p. 215: *tag*, 'a champion, hero, a brave, bold personage'; and adds: *tagīk*, 'one possessed of some physical heroism; the angel Srosh has this epithet.' The adj. *tagīk*, 'swift, strong,' is given also by S. D. Bharucha, *Pahlavī-Pāzand-English Glossary*, p. 150, Bombay, 1912.

September 1921.

[Later additions of importance in square brackets].

## STUDY IV

### THE MANICHAEAN FRAGMENT S. 7 IN TURFAN PAHLAVI

This Fragment, S. 7 (Kr. 3), similarly reproduced by Salemann in *Manichaica III-IV*, p. 4, was brought likewise from Turfan to St. Petersburg in 1908 by the Russian Consul Krotkov. It consists of a small leaf, measuring  $3 \frac{1}{4} \times 2 \frac{9}{16}$  inches ( $8.3 \times 6.5$  cm.), written on each side of the folio in two columns,  $2 \frac{3}{4} \times 1 \frac{1}{2}$  inches ( $7 \times 4$  cm.), and numbering 20 lines to the page.

The handwriting (in contrast to S. 9) is extremely small, so that a magnifying-glass has been found of constant service in deciphering the lithographic reproduction, aided also by Salemann's transcription into Hebrew characters, which has been helpful. The ductus of the script differs somewhat from that of S. 9 in character as well as in size, but represents a good type of Manichaean Estrangelo calligraphy. The spelling of the brief form of the conjunction for 'and' is uniformly  $\bar{v}$  ( $\bar{v}\bar{a}$ ?), i.e.  $v$  with two points above (cf. the note on a 11), as contrasted with the writing  $\bar{v}$  in S. 9.

One or two lines are missing from the top of the folio, where it is torn, but the rest is complete, except for the fact that several rubric lines in the body of the text have faded to such an extent that they are practically undecipherable, and there is a slight damage to a couple of letters near the bottom owing to a tear towards the edge on one side of the leaf.

The contents of the Fragment consist of supplications through prayer, and ascriptions of praise, typical of Manichaean hymnology; but it contains also material that is of importance for the understanding of the faith.

So far as preserved it comprises four sections, each of which, except the last, which may be incomplete, concludes with the asseverative formula 'ōh bēh, 'so may it be!' The chanting of this phrase in unison by the congregation must have been effective.

The faded lines in the text must have contained the rubric titles of the selections; one of these lines (b 9) can be read and gives the words BLESSING OF THE ANGELS.

#### OUTLINE OF CONTENTS OF S. 7

- a 1-14. Prayer that the vehicle of light may through Vahman convey the sinless to the mansions of immortality, and may instil true belief in the faithful.
- a 15-20; b 1-5. Blessing upon this day which brings freedom from trouble forever.
- b 6-20; c 1-20; d 1-2. Ascriptions of praise to the angelic, glorious, and divine host, including Jesus, with the supplication that they may stand by and preserve the Religion, keeping afar by their spiritual weapons the powers of evil led by Ahriman, unto eternity.
- d 3-20. May the heavenly beings 'accept our hymn, blessing, praise, and good works'; and may 'strength and power' accrue therefrom to the Religion and its followers!

#### TEXT AND VERBATIM TRANSLATION

##### S. 7 recto a

(Transliteration of Estrangelo Text)	(Word-for-word Translation of Text)
Page 1 = a. -----	[Top of page torn off]
----- šn 'īg	may the ----- of
- - dīh ○ 'ūd vāz	- -ness (?) ○ and the vehicle
'ī Vahmanān rōšanān	of the Vahmans of light
a 5. ○ ahrāmūd +abēzagān	○ lead onward the sinless ones
'ō mānīstānān	to the mansions
'ī anōšagīh ○ ○	of immortality ○ ○
'ō-mān prēstānd	Unto us may they send
+p r y h (farēh) tars 'ūd	glory's (glorious) awe and

- a 10. *varavīšn* ○ ○ 'ō *amah* belief ○ ○ unto us  
*ardāvān pākān* ○ ī the Righteous Pure (Elect) ○  
 and  
*niyōšāgān hūravānān* the Hearers with good souls,  
 'ō *prāzīšt 'ūd* unto the farthestmost and  
*žāyedān 'ōh bēh* eternity, so may it be (!)
- a 15. [Here two red ink lines, faded and illegible] [See opposite regarding two illegible lines]  
*āprīd hēb bēh* Blessed indeed be  
 'īn *rōč yōždah* ○ *pad* this day holy (or sanctified) ○  
 in (or through)  
*xvēš āprīn 'i zīndag* its own blessing which (is)  
 living
- a 20. 'ūd *pāk* ○ *qū-mān* and pure ○ so that (to) us

## S. 7 recto b

- | (Transliteration of<br>Estrangelo Text)   | (Word-for-word<br>Translation of Text)  |
|---|---|
| b 1. -----<br><i>b</i> -----<br>'ūd <i>abēvizandih</i> ○ ○<br><i>pad</i><br><i>tan 'ūd giyān</i> ○ <i>dā 'ō</i>                       | [Top line or lines torn off]<br>may be (?) -----<br>and freedom from harm ○ ○ in  |
| b 5. <i>žāyedān 'ōh bēh</i> ○<br>[Here three illegible red ink lines, but next is decipherable]<br>ĀPRĪVAN 'Ī<br>PRĒSTAGĀN            | eternity, so may it be ○<br>[See opposite regarding three undecipherable lines in the text]<br>BLESSING OF THE ANGELS(.)  |
| b 10. <i>prēstagān rōšanān</i> ○<br>+ <i>farēhagān kērdagārān</i> ○<br><i>ba'ān taḥmān 'ūd</i><br><i>mahrēspandān</i><br>'istāvad[ā]n | The angels of light ○<br>glorious ones, deed-doing<br>(beneficent) ○<br>The divinities strong and<br>the elements praised |



## S. 7 verso d

- d 1. d(?) ----- [Top torn=? un(to the end of)]  
 zamān 'ō[h bēh] time, so [may it be]  
 [Here two red ink lines faded and illegible] [See opposite regarding two illegible lines]
- d 5. ba'ān rōšanān 'ūd The divinities of light and  
 maḥrēspandān the elements praised,  
 'istāvadān  
 prēstagān ravānčīnān the angels soul-gathering  
 ⊙padīravāgān 'i grīv ⊙the receiving ones of the Spirit  
 zīndag ⊙xvad padīrānd Living ⊙may themselves receive
- d 10. ač amah 'in maḥr from us this hymn,  
 āprīn v̄ + 'istāyišn blessing, and praise,  
 v̄ qērbaḡ qērdagān and merit, of (good) deeds  
 bār 'ūd vaḥībgarī the fruit, and the good action (beneficence)  
 'i Vaḥman rōšan ⊙'ū-š of Vaḥman the light ⊙And this
- d 15. az-īš 'y' d (āyād) from it may come, strength and  
 zōr v̄ and  
 nērōḡ ⊙v̄ pāsbanī power ⊙and protection's (protecting-)  
 qērbag ⊙'ō hamāḡ merit ⊙unto all the  
 dēn yōždahr ⊙p r' y religion holy (sanctified) ⊙  
 (frāy) 'ūd more full and  
 vēš abar amah better upon us,
- d 20. ardāvān v̄ niyōšāgān the Righteous (Elect) and Hearers(.)  
 [Nothing more preserved] [Rest wanting]

## FREER RENDERING OF FRAGMENT S. 7

**a 1-14.** [*At least a line and a half missing.*] 'May the ----- of -- ness, and the vehicle of the Vahmans of Light lead onward the sinless to the Mansions of Immortality. May they send to us glorious reverence and faith—to us the Righteous Pure (= Elect), and the Hearers good in soul, unto the farthestmost and to eternity. So may it be!

**a 15-20; b 1-5.** [*Two lines faded and illegible.*] Blessed indeed be this Sanctified (Holy) Day through its own praise which is living and pure, so that to us [*lacuna; top of the page torn*] there may be (?) - - - and freedom from harm in body and soul unto eternity. So may it be!

**b 6-20; c 1-20; d 1-2.** [*Three faded lines undecipherable.*] BLESSING OF THE ANGELS. The Angels of Light, glorious and beneficent, the mighty Divinities and the lauded Elements, the powerful Helpers that are the preserving ones, the good ones and guarding ones of the flock (congregation) and (of) the Elect of the Gods,—praised and blessed indeed shall they be in the presence of Jesus; . . . [*lacuna; top of the page torn*] (by?) this Sanctified (Holy) Religion may they stand. And may they guard, keep, and preserve it pure. And by the Shield of Light, and the Buckler of the Faithful, and the good Spear that is militant, may they repel, conquer, subdue (?), and keep afar all the enemies of rectitude and adversaries of virtue, and all dissolution, and the fiery Hell, the Evil Eye and the heart of the Prince of Lies (?), Ahriman [*lacuna; top of the page torn*] unto (the end of?) time. So may it be!

**d 3-20.** [*Two faded lines illegible.*] May the Divinities of Light and the lauded Elements, (and) the Angels that gather the souls, (those) receiving ones of the Living Spirit, themselves accept from us this hymn, blessing, and praise, and merit, the fruit of good deeds, and the beneficent action of Vahman the Luminous. And from it may there come strength and power, and the merit of guarding it, to



all the Sanctified (Holy) Religion,—more full and still better upon us the Righteous Ones (Elect) and the Hearers!’

## NOTES, PHILOLOGICAL AND EXPLANATORY

## Notes on S. 7 recto, column a

A sort of rhythmical movement runs through the text, as might be looked for in such a composition. Occasionally it is possible to recognize distinct survivals of the old Iranian meter (8 + 8) of the Avesta, comparable with the Vedic Anuṣṭubh (cf. Geldner, *Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, p. vii etc., Tübingen, 1877). Thus, for example, a 10–12, *’ō amah ardāvān pākān | vā niyōšāgān hūr(a)vānān* | etc., also b 10–20, c 9–20, though the metrical structure is often rather free. Perhaps pauses and protracted syllables helped out in intoning; but it would be forced to press the matter of making more perfect meter by the elision of vowels or the omission of words in the text as given.

a 2–3. - - - - - *šn ’īg - - dīh*: without further texts as parallels it would be idle to conjecture something like *\*[aḥrāmz]šn ’īg [šād]ih*, ‘the elevation of beatitude, and the vehicle of —’.

a 3. *vāz*: a derivative from *√vaz-*, ‘to bear, carry,’ cf. Av. *vāza-*, (1) adj. ‘bearing’; (2) subst. ‘beast of burden, conveyance.’ The idea of the celestial vehicles of light (*vāz ’i Vahmanān rōšanān*), like the familiar ships of light, is quite Manichaean. Salemann, p. 5 (cf. p. 38), translates, ‘die führung der lichten Vahmane.’

a 4. *Vahmanān*: this noun (here plur., and probably to be interpreted as representing the familiar triad of Vahman with Jesus and the Virgin of Light—*Vahman*, *Yīšō’*, *Kanīg Rōšan*—as recurring, relatively often, or with variations), appears elsewhere in the Fragments (see below) as *Vahman* (sg.) and in the Pahlavi Books as *Vahman*, NP. *Bahman*. As an exalted designation in Manichaeism it preserves at least the old name of the Avestan archangelic personification *Vohu Manah*, lit. ‘Good Thought,’ the chief of the Amesha Spentas in Zoroastrianism, though the precise Manichaean connotation of the term in its full religious significance, both in the present passage and in other Fragments, remains yet to be made clear in its entirety.

For example, *Vaḥman* (sg.) occurs below, d 14, *vaḥḥbgārī 'i Vaḥman rōšan*, 'the beneficence (or good action) of the luminous Vaḥman'; probably also in S. 13 v, b 7 (= Sm. p. 18), *ač 'ōē Vaḥm[an raz(?)]myōz*, 'from that Vaḥman, battle(?)-seeking,' cf. NP. *razmyōz*; also below, c 10, TPhl. *razmyōz*, and M. 43 r, 6 (= Mü. p. 78 bot.), cf. note below on c 10. Furthermore, in M. 543 r, 7 (= Mü. p. 79), *Yišō' kanīg ü Vaḥman*, 'Jesus, the Virgin and Vaḥman'; similarly M. 74 r, 15 (= Mü. p. 75 bot.), *Yišō' zīndkar . . . Vaḥman rōšan*, 'Jesus the life-giving . . . Vaḥman the luminous.' Or again, M. 176 r, 12 (= Mü. p. 60 bot.), *Yišō' bēg, 'ūd Vaḥmanā bām, yazdā*, 'Jesus Divinity and O Vaḥman bright, Thou God'; M. 1. 2. 5-6 (= Mü. *Handschriften-Reste* I, p. 351 = Pers. 2. Sm. *MStud.* p. 32), *xūdāy-mān āfrīdag-nām M(ānī) marī Vaḥman*, 'our Lord of blessed name, Mānī holy, Vaḥman'—in which latter passage *marī*, 'holy,' probably (though not necessarily) belongs, as elsewhere, to M(ānī) rather than to Vaḥman.

For the present this much may be said with regard to 'Vaḥman the luminous' in the Manichaean scheme, that while the Fragments at hand do not yet allow a clear picture to be drawn, there is certainly reason for associating his name, as a reminiscence or survival, directly with the Zoroastrian Amesha Spenta, Vohu Manah. Furthermore, the *vāz*, or 'vehicle,' and its connection here in Manichaeism with the 'Virgin' and Jesus, who resides in the Moon, give ground for believing that Vaḥman's rôle in the religion of Mānī recalls the part played by Vaḥman in Paradise in receiving the souls of the just into Heaven (see Jackson, in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* 2. 637 § 36 = id. *Zor. Studies* (1928), p. 48; cf. Scheftelowitz, *Die Entstehung d. manich. Relig.* (1922), p. 18, 20, 47, 83). Furthermore, for the Manichaean triad, Jesus, the Maiden, and Vaḥman, twice in the Turkish texts, T. II, D 176 v, 18-19 and TM. 164 v, 11, as *Yušo'* (or *Yišu*) *Kanig Whmn*, see Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. 15 mid. and p. 42 mid., in *APAW.* 1922, p. 15, 42. Once again, Vaḥman appears in the same triad in a TPhl. hymn, composed in the south-western dialect, *yōždah Yišō' . . . Kanīg rōšan 'ūd Vaḥman vaz(u)rg*, 'the holy Jesus, the Light Maiden, and Vaḥman the great,' see Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (1926), p. 120, with n. 1, and cf. p. 46-47.

a 5. *aḥrāmād*: regarding this regular Manichaean verb to denote leading toward the light see note on the previous Fragment S. 9 b 28, and for references in the texts, Sm. *MStud.* p. 50 bot.

a 5. *\*abēzagān*: the plural form, *-ān*, is quite clear in the manuscript and is required by the sense, though Salemann (pp. 4 bot., 35 mid.) gives *abēzag* in Hebrew letters, while adding a note on the matter, p. 5 bot. The sg. *abēčag* does however also occur as an adj. to [*dā*]šīn, 'gift,' in M. 74 v, 16 (= Mū. p. 77 top), but that is in another connection. On the question of the etymology of *abēzagān* see Sm. *MStud.* p. 44 top (with references to Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 253 and Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 33 bot.), and consult especially Bthl. p. 51 bot.

a 6. *mānīstānān*: 'abodes, mansions, abiding-places,' a derivative, *mān-īstān*, cf. BkPhl. *mān*, NP. *mān*, Av. *nmāna-*, see Bthl. p. 83 bot.-84 top. This word is found in the ordinary sense in Maḥrnāmag, line 187 (= Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 16 mid.), *pad mānīstān* 'i ark, 'in the dwellings of (or rooms in) the citadel.' In our present passage the celestial 'abodes of immortality' are referred to. Add especially from the Turkish Frag. TM. 164 v, 4-5 (= Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3.42 bot.), 'the divine bright Abodes' (*ingri* / / *q[rīγ m]ānīstānγaru*). This would correspond to the allegorical usage of *mānīstān* in M. 47 d 6 (= Mū. p. 85 bot.). In the interpretation of the latter passage, Salemann (pp. 5 bot., 43 top), while rendering 'wonungen' here, still refers to his translation in *MStud.* p. 94, 'Mani's lere,' which seems incorrect when the spiritual sense of the word is allowed. For these reasons we may regard the usage of this word, here associated with *Vahmanān*, as carrying forward in Manichaeism the conception of the immortal mansions occupied by the souls in Zoroastrianism in the paradisiacal stages of 'good thoughts, good words, good deeds,' steps in the gradation towards immortality.

a 8. *prēstānd*: thus (with *p* = *f*), as somewhat similarly M. 4, p. 8, line 11, *prēstānd zōr 'ūd nērōg* (Mū. II. p. 11), 'may they send strength and power'; see also citations Sm. p. 47 mid.; Sm. *MStud.* p. 119 top. (This is not to be confounded with *parīstēnd*, *parīstand*, 'they worship,' discussed by Bthl. p. 84 bot.).

a 9. *p r y h* (*parēh*): i.e. *farēh*, with the common writing of *p* for *f* before *r*, as previously noted in regard to the Estrangelo

script. Here the *r* is clearly written (as appears under the magnifying-glass, and duly noted by Dr. Yohannan) with a point over it and the dot after it as forming part of the fuller writing of this letter. This latter dot Salemann mistook as 'yod' (*y*), writing in his Hebrew transliteration *parīh* (p. 4 bot.) and *farīh* (p. 47 mid.). No uncertainty, therefore, remains that the word consists only of the letters *p r y h*, in whatever way they are to be read. Salemann here (p. 5) translates by 'reichlich' (reichliche furcht) and refers to his *MStud.* p. 118 bot., where he transliterates 1. *f r y h* as *frēh* and renders by 'mer, reichlich, vorzüglich,' distinguishing it from 2. *f r y h*, which he regards as possibly representing '*farr-ih*,' in the sense of 'glory.' My own view favors taking our *p r y h* in the latter meaning and reading *parēh* (*farēh*), with the familiar abstract ending *-ēh* thus transcribed instead of as *-ih*, see Bthl. p. 40 top, comparing likewise the etymological cognates for this word 'glory' as given by Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 308 and Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 83, 259 (b).

Support for this rendering of *parēh*, *farēh* as 'glory' is to be found (see above, p. 28 top) in M. 98 caption (= Mū. p. 41 top, p. 111 n. 1, 'Glanz') *kē qanbīšt pad parēh (farēh)*, 'who (is) least in glory,' and M. 311 r, 16 (= Mū. p. 67 top) *padvāčōm pad farēh*, 'answer me in glory'; compare also the adj. *farēhag*, 'glorious,' below, in b 11. Similarly may be cited *parēhān (farēhān)*, 'the "Glories,"' in Mū. p. 80 top, *prēstagān . . . vāxšān . . . parēhān*, 'Angels . . . Spirits . . . the "Glories,"' alongside of Mū. p. 55 bot., *paraḥ'ān 'ūd prēstagān vāxšān*, 'the "Glories" and Angels (and) Spirits,' thus showing the close connection between *parēh (farēh)* and *farah*; consult also the list of references in Bthl. 40 top, as referred to, which begins with *parēh*, 'Herrlichkeit.' Compare likewise the superl. *farēhistōm*, 'most glorious,' in Mū. p. 52 bot. and in S. 9 c 2 (see above, p. 114). Cf., furthermore, the note below on d 16, *pāsbānī qērbag*.

This abstract *farēh*, 'glory,' when written, as here and once elsewhere, separately from the word on which it depends, has practically an adjectival value; thus, *parēh (farēh) tars*, 'glory's awe' = 'glorious reverence,' and in M. 4 p. 3 line 9 (= Mū. p. 53 top) *farēh gē'ān*, 'glory's soul' = 'glorious soul.' It is likewise

found combined with the following noun so as to form a compound adjective, as in *farēhnām*, 'having a glorious name' (M. 64 a 2 and 99 e = Mü. p. 92 mid. and 44 top—both times of Mānī); again (of Mānī) *farēhrōd*, 'of glorious countenance' (M. 311 r, 11 = Mü. p. 66 bot.); also (of Mānī's throne in heaven) *farēhgōn*, 'of glorious color (*farēhgōn*) is thy radiant (*nīsag*) throne' (M. 311 v, 17 = Mü. p. 67 mid.); and again *farēhgōn* (among several other epithets of Mānī) in T. II, D 178 b 8, where Schaefer, *Studien*, p. 292, translates it as 'glänzender,' despite the fact that in his note (p. 294 n. 8) he transliterates as *frēhgōn*, with a reference to Salemann's (*MStud.* p. 118) 'mehr, reichlich, vorzüglich' and NP. *firiḥ*, 'more,' and denies that the word has anything to do with *farrah*, 'glory,'—with which last opinion one may differ.

The meaning 'glory' for *farēh*, 'Herrlichkeit,' which Bartholomae had accepted in Bthl. p. 40 top, as already referred to, was apparently retained by that noted Iranist in his discussion later of BkPhl. *x<sup>a</sup>arrēh* (*farrēh*) in 'Zur Kenntnis d. mittelliran. Mundarten V,' p. 20 n. 1 (*Sb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.* 1923, 3te Abh.), because he includes references to our present passage, S. 7 a 9, as well as to S. 9 c 2 (*farēhistōm*) and to M. 543 r, 9 = Mü. p. 80 top (*parēhān*), all mentioned above. Although I may be mistaken as to the context, this would seem to show that he had departed from his previous view with regard to S. 7 a 9, as expressed four years earlier in an article 'Zur Etymologie,' in the same learned journal (*SbHAW.* 1919, p. 27-33), where he had allowed (p. 28), like Salemann (*MStud.* p. 118), that in this particular instance *p r y h* (cf. NP. *firiḥ*, 'mehr') might be read as *frēh*, 'mehr,' although in his footnote on the same page (p. 28 n. 1) he points out that the other TPhl. words with *f r y h* (or *p r y h*) belong for the most part with NP. *farriḥz*, i.e. the quality of glory, and he disagrees with Salemann's strictures concerning Müller's translation, i.e. 'Glanz.' At all events, we may conclude that there are data enough in favor of the translation 'glory,' which has been adopted above. I have since noticed in Waldschmidt and Lentz (1926), *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 87 bot., a similar view concerning the abstract form *far-hē-f-i*, 'Herrlichkeit,' in a Chinese-Iran. hymn to Jesus. They also would regard that abstract as a derivative from Av. *xvarnah*, O.P. *farnah*, Mid. and N.P. *far-*

*rah*, precisely as I have done in this case. They are opposed to connecting it with (Andreas) TPhl. *frēh*, '(1) lieb, (2) Liebe.'

a 10. *varavīšn*: abstract from √*var-*, 'to choose, believe'; cf. BkPhl. *varavīšn* (Ardā Virāf 1.15, West and Haug, *Glossary and Index*, p. 241, Bombay and London, 1874); see furthermore Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 912. Cf. also the verbal form *varavīst* in S. 9 b 17, above.

a 10. *amah*: this pronominal form *amāh* occurs also below, d 10, 19, and S. 8 v, b 6, 9 (= Sm. p. 7), as well as elsewhere in the (Mü.) Fragments; by the side of it is found likewise the form *amāh*, S. 10 b 3 (= Sm. p. 14) and frequently elsewhere (in Mü.); in addition to this the form *amā* (cf. BkPhl. *amā*) also appears in S. 33 b 2, 3, 4 (= Sm. p. 26, cf. p. 35 bot.); Maḥrnāmag, lines 273, 289 (= Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 21 mid., bot.).

a 11. *ṽ*: see introductory paragraph above, regarding the writing of this form of the conjunction (*ṽ* = *u* with two dots above it) throughout the present Fragment in contrast to *ṽ* in S. 9; and compare Müller, *Handschriften-Reste II*, p. 6, par. 2.

a 11. *ardāvān*: cf. below d 20, and see note on the previous Fragment S. 9 c 9.

a 11. *pākān*: cf. BkPhl. *pāk*, NP. *pāk*, Skt. *pāvaka* = \**pavāka*, see Bthl. p. 97 n 4. The same expression (pl.) *ardāvān pākān*, 'the righteous pure ones,' occurs also M. 1. 2. 2 and MT. 14 (= Müller, *Handschriften-Reste I*, p. 351 top and p. 350 top, in *SbPAW*. 1904, February 11); also Maḥrnāmag, line 14 (= Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 9); the sg. *pāk* or *pāq* is found below, a 20, and in M. 470 a 9 (= Mü. p. 20 mid.). The fuller form *pavāg* appears likewise in M. 102 v, 2, 5 (= Mü. p. 65 bot.); 730 v, 9 (= Mü. p. 49 mid.); S. 31 a 7 (= Sm. p. 24 bot.).

a 12. *niyōšāgān ḥūravānān*: the first term is the regular designation of the Manichaean *Auditores*, Κατηχομένοι, 'Hearers'; the second term, adj. *ḥūravānān* or *ḥūr<sup>a</sup>vānān* (pl.), 'of good soul' (Av. *urvan-*, TPhl. *ravān*), is similarly found as an attribute in Maḥrnāmag, l. 155, *niyōšāgān ḥūravānān*, and (sg.) Maḥrnāmag, l. 8, *niyōšāg 'i ḥūravān* (see Müller, *Doppelblatt*, pp. 15 mid., 9 top). Furthermore, compare etymologically the noun Av. *hurunya-*, 'good state of soul,' from Av. \**hu-rvan-* or \**hu-run*, adj. 'having a blessed soul.'

a 13. *prāzīšt*: lit. 'foremost, uttermost,' i.e. unto the farthermost end of time—a superlative traceable back to Av. *frāč*, 'forward,' cf. TPhl. *prāč*, *frāč*, BkPhl. *frāz*, NP. *farāz*, and see the note previously on S. 9 d 1. See also *prāzīšt*, 'zuvörderst,' in a TPhl. hymn to Jesus in Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 121 top, line 18: *prāzīšt 'ūd žāyedān zamān 'ōh bēh*, 'to the farthermost and eternity's time may it be so.'

a 14. *žāyedān*: see note on the previous Fragment S. 9 b 27, d 29; and cf. Maḥrnāmag, lines 44, 158 (= Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 10 mid., 15 bot.).

a 14. *'ōh bēh*: compare the Older English phrase 'so mote it be!' The adverb *'ōh*, here and b 5, d 2 (see also for other examples Sm. *MStud.* p. 48 mid.), is equivalent in meaning to Av. *avaθa*, 'so, thus,' when used in company with *bēh* (which is optative in force, in whatever manner we are to explain *bēh* linguistically, cf. Bthl. p. 86 top and n. 1). Among the more recently available instances of *'ōh* with this significance see Maḥrnāmag, lines 159, 312, *'ōh bavēndēh*; line 232, *'ōh-ūm 'išnūd*, 'so he heard me' (or 'thus was heard by me') (see Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 15 bot., 22 mid., 20 top, cf. 39 bot.; and cf. Bthl. p. 37 bot.). The old Turkish phrase, equivalent to Phl. *žāyedān 'ōh bēh*, is *m(ā)ngigū inčū bolzun*, 'may it be so forever,' which is found in the Turkish Manichaean Fragment T. II, D 171, end, see Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho I*, p. 29 ll. 35-37. Consult also the third note following, on a 17, and the remarks above, p. 128 top.

a 15-16. The red ink in these two lines has become so faded as to make them undecipherable; similarly in b 6-8 and d 3-4. Compare the note likewise on S. 9 b 31-32.

a 17. *āprīd (āfrīd)*: cf. also below, b 19; recall, as remarked before, that *p* for *f* before *r* is especially common in the Estrangelo writing of this Fragment, see a 13, *prāzīšt*, a 19, *āprīn*, b 9, d 7, *prēstagān*, and see note in Sm. p. 5 mid.

a 17. *āprīd hēb bēh*: the collocation, *hēb bēh* (alone), occurs in M. 17 r, 13 (= Mü. p. 26 top); 470 v, 13 (= Mü. p. 21 bot.); furthermore, M. 172, p. 1 v, 8 (= Mü. p. 101 mid.), *hēb b[av]ēd*; and (with *āfrīd*, as here) below, S. 7 b 19, *āprīd (āfrīd) hēb bavēnd*. Similarly in a TPhl. hymn to Jesus, SW. dialect, in

W. and L., *Die Stellung*, p. 121 top, the blessing invoked at the beginning of the passage, *āprīd hēb bavēnd*, 'blessed indeed shall they be,' concludes with the asseverative formula, 'ōh bēh, 'so may it be!' as above. For the equivalent Turkish phrase see note on a 14 end; and for a parallel conclusion to the Chinese Manichaean hymn in praise of Jesus, H. 82 d, see W. and L., p. 111, with note 4. This particle *hēb* seems to be somewhat troublesome as to origin (see Bthl. p. 86 top; Salemann, in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* 1. 1. p. 315 § 117), but its strengthening meaning must be about equivalent to 'indeed, surely.'

a 18. 'in rōč yōždahṛ: 'this day holy'; compare below c 3, 'in dēn yōždahṛ, 'this Holy Religion'; and d 17-18, *hamāg dēn yōždahṛ*, 'the entire Holy Religion'; also M. 4, p. 7, l. 3 (= Mü. p. 57 bot.), M. 4, p. 8, l. 18 (= Mü. p. 59 mid.), and M. 172 r, 12 (= Mü. p. 100 bot.), *dēn yōždahṛ*, 'Holy Religion'; likewise M. 20 d 5 (= Mü. p. 46 top, 109 mid.), *yōždahṛ dašn*, 'the holy right (hand)'; and furthermore, M. 4, p. 7, l. 19 (= Mü. p. 58 mid.), *vāxš yōždahṛ*, 'the Holy Spirit.' The adj. *yōždahṛ* is a direct derivative from Av. *yaoždāθrya-*, 'holy, sanctified,' from the noun Av. *yaoždāθra-*, 'ritual purification, sanctity' (cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 1235, 1236). It belongs to the coterie of religious terms in Manichaeism as in Zoroastrianism.

#### Notes on S. 7 recto, column b

b 3. *abēvizandīh*: sic, ā; cf. in this connection *Maḥrnāmag*, ll. 1-2, *drūstīy 'ūd abēvizēndīy*, 'health and unharmedness,' i.e. freedom from attack (= Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 9 top, 'Unversehrtheit') an abstract formation with prefix *abē-*, 'un-, free from'; see (with refs. and discussion of etymology) Sm. p. 34 mid.; Sm. *MStud.* p. 43 mid.; Bthl. pp. 37 n. 1, 51 n. 1 and n. \*\*.

b 4. *tan 'ūd giyān*: cf. note on *grīw* in preceding Fragment S. 9 a 4.

b 4-5. *dā 'ō žāyedān*: cf. above, a 14 (and below ? d 1); consult note previously on S. 9 b 27; see also elsewhere, e.g. *Maḥrnāmag*, lines 157, 44 (= Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 15 bot., 10 top).

b 5. 'ōh bēh: see notes above, a 14, 17.

b 6-8. In these three faded red ink lines so few letters in the



reproduction can be deciphered at all under the glass that it is impossible to operate with them, but the next one can be read, see note on b 9.

**b 9.** *āprīwan 'i prēstagān*: this rubric line, though faded, seems, under microscopic examination, to be correctly read by Salemann, p. 4 bot., as *ĀPRĪVAN 'I PRĒSTAGĀN*, see remarks above, preceding Outline of Contents. On *p = f* see note above, a 17, and compare BkPhl. *āprīwan* or *āfrīwan* (cf. NP. *āfarīn*); see likewise *āfrīwan* in Maḥrnāmag, line 413 (= Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 27), and the adopted form, *āfrīwan*, in the Soghdian version of the New Testament, St. Luke 1, T. II, B 38, ll. 4, 12 (= Müller, *Soghdische Texte I*, p. 30, in *AbhKPAW*. 1912 = *SbKPAW*. 1907, p. 266). Consult, moreover, Sm. *MStud.* p. 57 top; Bthl. p. 142. Regarding 'praise' as a feature in Manichaean worship and hymnology see note below, d 10 end.

Observe that here (b 10-14) the divine beings mentioned are practically the same as those in d 5-9 below, except that there the term *hiyārān* is not included. In our first passage (b 10-11) the Angels, with their ordinary epithets, appear to be angels in general, while those mentioned below in d 7, *prēstagān ravānčīnān*, etc. are particularized as the familiar soul-gathering angels of the Living Spirit (see note on d 7). The references to the Divinities (b 12 *ba'ān taḥmān*, and d 5 *ba'ān rōšanān*) appear likewise to be general in character, although the title *bag*, 'divinity,' like *yazd*, 'god,' is higher than *prēstag*, 'angel.' The Elements (*mahrē-spandān*) have in both cases the identical attribute '*istāwadān*, 'praised,' as referring to the five light elements of Primal Man. The reference in b 14-18 to the *hiyārān zōrēmandān*, 'the powerful Helpers,' with an elaboration of their qualities as purifying, good, and guarding, may be interpreted as referring to the five great Guardian Powers *Mānbēd*, *Višbēd*, etc., whose respective functions are to keep the cosmos in order. See note on M. 99 b 19-20, above.

**b 11.** *\*farēhagān*: sic—'the glorious ones.' This reading (*farēhagān*) seems to be assured by repeated examination under the magnifying-glass (so also my late Assistant, Dr. Yohannan); it would therefore dispose of Salemann's problematic *\*šamūgān* (Sm. p. 4 bot.), which was left by him as unexplained (p. 6 top,

‘. . . .’, or p. 39 bot., ‘eine klasse götlicher wesen’). The derivation as plural of the adjective *farēḥag* from *farēh* (see a 9, note) would be simple; and a parallel for the collocation *farēḥagān kērdagārān* would be found in M. 43 v, 7 (= Mü. p. 78 bot.), *qērdagārān farahān*, ‘beneficent Glories.’

**b 11.** *kērdagārān*: ‘valiant, beneficent’; see note on the previous Fragment S. 9 b 24, *gūrd* ‘i *qērdagār*, and cf. the note below on d 12, *qērdagān*.

**b 12.** *ba’ān ṭahmān*: for the form of the substantive (= *bagān*) see Bthl. pp. 77–78; and for the adjective *ṭahm* (found elsewhere) recall Av. *taxma-*, ‘strong, mighty.’ All of these terms have a religious flavor, see note above on b 9, end.

**b 13.** *mahrēspandān*: see the note previously on S. 9 a 11.

**b 13.** ‘*istāvad[ā]n*: the plural in *-ān* is undoubtedly the correct reading, although there is a small hole at this point in the margin of the page; the abridged reading (for *ā*) at the end of the line may have been indicated in some way, as by the slight bar (– above *n*) below in d 6, ‘*istāvadān* (see note there). On this subject in general consult Müller, *Handschriften-Reste II*, p. 6, par. I.

**b 14.** *ḥiyārān*: for the significance of this word ‘Helpers’ here see note above on b 9, end; for its formation consult Bthl. p. 25 n. 1, and id. ‘Zur Kenntnis, . . . I,’ p. 45, in *SbHAW*. 1916, Abh. 9 p. 45.

**b 14.** *zōrēmandān*: regarding the formation of this adjective with anaptyctic *ē* in TPhl. (beside the commoner *zōrmandān*) see Bthl. p. 37 mid., also cf. id. ‘Zur Kenntnis, . . . V,’ p. 28, 29, 40, 41, in *SbHAW*. 1923, Abh. 3, and compare M. 177 r, 17 (= Mü. p. 89 mid.), *dardēmand*, ‘pained.’

**b 15.** *paḥrēzēnāgān*: ‘those preserving, or keeping pure’; pres. act. ptcpl. of causal formation from *paḥrēxtan*, cf. c 6 below, and see note above on S. 9 d 14.

**b 15.** *nēwān*: BkPhl. *nēw*, NP. *nēw*, *nēk*, ‘good, fair, bold,’ OP. *naiba-*; see Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 1068.

**b 16.** *niḥūmbāgān*: pres. act. ptcpl. from *niḥūftan*, ‘to protect, hide,’ BkPhl. and NP. *nihuftan*; cf. Sm. p. 44 mid.; Sm. *MStud.* p. 99 top; see likewise Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 1059; Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 103 bot.

**b 17.** *ram*: 'flock, herd, people'; BkPhl. *ram*, *ramak*, NP. *ram*, 'herd of cattle, assemblage of people.' Here the Manichaean congregation is especially meant. This word occurs in TPhl. in W. and L. p. 96 l. 18 and is common in the Soghdian version of the Gospels (= Müller, *Soghdische Texte I*, in *AbhKPAW*. 1913, pp. 6, l. 14; 22, l. 20; 30, l. 14; 31, l. 9; 33, l. 22; 34, l. 3; 50, l. 6; 61, l. 10; cf. id. *SbKPAW*. 1907, pp. 8 top, bot., 10 mid.). For the etymology see Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 620, and cf. Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.* p. 586. The London Chinese Roll, 78 b, preserves the same figurative expression 'flock of lambs' and 'flock' for the Manichaean congregation; see W. and L., *Stellung*, p. 27 mid., 110 mid.

**b 17.** *vičīdagān*: this reading (with plur. -ān, as required by the sense) stands clearly in the manuscript, though Salemann (pp. 5 top, 39 mid.) gives *vičīdag* (sg.) in his Hebrew transliteration, while adding a comment, p. 5 note. The same form *vičīdagān*, 'Electi,' appears likewise in the previous Fragment, S. 9 c 10, where see note.

**b 18.** *'istūd*: on the letter 'ain' in such forms see Bthl. p. 80 top.

**b 19.** *āprīd*: thus, with *p* for *f* before *r*, as often; cf. note above, a 8.

**b 19.** *ḥēb* [—]: the reading *ḥēb* is certain, although there is a torn space following it on the page, but no word seems to be missing in the sense. For that reason I have enclosed in square brackets the dash in Salemann's Hebrew transliteration. Perhaps he intended it only as a space filler. Concerning this particle *ḥēb* see note above, a 17.

**b 20.** *bavēnd*: on this not uncommon form in TPhl. see Bthl. p. 28 bot.; the form *bavēndēh* (used as sg. and pl.) occurs in Maḥrnāmag, lines 159, 312, 330, 410 (= Müller, *Doppelblatt*, pp. 15 bot., 22 mid., 23 top, 27 bot.).

**b 20.** *Yīšō'*: the frequent allusions to Jesus in the Fragments require further study in detail. That desideratum is now filled through the important book, often referred to, by Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, Berlin, 1926.

## Notes on S. 7 verso, column c

- c 1. A line missing, as the leaf is torn at the top.
- c 2. *-n*: the remnant of a letter preceding this consonant seems to be part of an *ē* rather than of an *š*, although it might possibly be part of an *a*; one would expect some word that would govern 'in dēn yōždahṛ. Salemann (p. 6 top) doubtfully renders the line '... [etwa: zum heile] dises heiligen glaubens sollen sie stehn.'
- c 3. 'in dēn yōždahṛ: see note above, a 18, on the collocation dēn yōždahṛ, and compare S. 9 d 17, 'in dēn ardāh.
- c 4. 'istānd: see note above, c 2, end, and cf. note on b 18.
- c 4. 'ū-š: 'and it'; this reading ('ū-š) seems after all to be best (so also Sm. p. 5), although Dr. Yohannan was inclined to decipher as *anōš* (adverb), 'undyingly,' i.e. 'forever,' which would also give a good sense; yet one does really feel the need of a conjunction and a pronoun between 'istānd and the following verbs.
- c 5-6. *niḥūmbānd pāyānd 'ūd paḥrēzēnānd*: this idea of guarding over, protecting, and keeping pure the religion is found elsewhere in the Fragments, e.g. M. 4, p. 5, lines 4-5 (= Mü. p. 55 top), *pāyānd ūa paḥrēzēnānd 'ō dēn yōždahṛ*, 'may they protect and keep pure the Holy Religion' (on 'ō, lit. 'to,' see note below, c 12); probably likewise M. 4, p. 7, lines 2-3, *niḥūm 'ūd pāy 'ō dēn yōždahṛ*, 'guard over and protect the Holy Religion' (thus *niḥūm*, imperative, cf. Mü. p. 57 bot., Sm. p. 99 top; somewhat differently Bthl. p. 59 n. 1; consult also the note previously on S. 9 c 1, *abḥūm*). Concerning the individual verbs, moreover, see likewise the note above, b 16, and previously on S. 9 d 14.
- c 7-9. 'ispar—magn—nēzag: this natural idea of the armor of righteousness is as familiar in Manichaeism (examples below) as in Christianity (Eph. 6. 14-17) and in Zoroastrianism (cf. L. C. Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Relig.* p. 147, Bombay, 1889). Thus, in Mānī's poetic imagery, Theodore bar Khoni (ed. and tr. Pognon, p. 127, 185; cf. Cumont, p. 16; and below, tr. Yohannan, p. 225) alludes to the panoply (cf. πανοπλία, armatura, Heg. *Acta Arch.* 7. 4; 10 (28). 2, ed. Beeson, pp. 10. 10; 15. 13) of the Primal Man armed for the conflict against the King of Darkness, in which conflict, according to an-Nadīm

(*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 54, 87; Kessler, p. 389), the Primal Man proceeds to the fray taking 'fire as a shield and a spear in his hand.' Similarly in the Turkish Manichaean Cosmogonic Fragment (T. 1 α v, lines 12-17, cf. Le Coq, p. 20 bot.), 'the god Xūrmūzta made the fire-god as an ax (*balto*, qu. 'shield?') . . . and . . . a spear' (*söngü*) in this primeval battle (see Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho I*, p. 20 bot., in *AbhKPAW.* 1912).

The three separate words for armor and arms, as given in the present passage, require special discussion.

α. 'isṣār, 'shield,' occurs in the Fragments thus far only here, but is familiar through its cognate forms in Av. *spāra-*, 'shield,' BkPhl. *spār*, NP. *sipar*, *ispar*, etc., see Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 700.

β. *magn*, 'buckler,' is certainly the correct decipherment and interpretation of this word, despite the fact that Salemann (p. 5 mid.) transcribes in Hebrew characters as *mgyn*, while leaving dots ('. . . .') in his translation (p. 6 top) and recording simply 'eine waffe' in his glossarial remarks (p. 43 top). Salemann was mistaken in considering the appended part, or knob, of the Estrangelo *g* to be an added letter *ī* (*ē*), as observed by my late assistant, Dr. Yohannan, who was familiar with the word *magn*, 'buckler,' in Syriac (cf. also Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2006. This interpretation, like the Biblical 'shield and buckler,' suits admirably in the context. The translation 'sword' (Degen) later by Scheftelowitz, *WZKM.* (1927), 34. 227, who follows Salemann's reading *magēn* and attempts to connect the word with Goth. *mēkeis*, O.S. *māki*, 'Schwert,' does not seem to commend itself. We must remember that occasionally borrowed words of Semitic (Syriac) origin are found elsewhere in the TPhl. texts.

γ. *nēzag*, 'spear,' see the separate note on this word below, c 9.

c 8. *h v s t y g' n* (*ḥavistīgān*): thus to be read; concerning this term for 'the faithful,' which is known as a word also in BkPhl., see Sm. p. 40 top.

c 9. *nēzag*: 'spear,' see note above, c 7-9 (and cf. Sm. p. 44 mid.; Sm. *MS.* p. 100 top); compare also S. 8 b 2-3 (= Sm. pp. 6-7), *nēzag* 'īg 'Öhrmīzd, 'the spear of Ormazd' (see below, p. 170) and M. 32 r, 8 (= Mü. p. 63 top), 'ōn *nēzag* qūmār, 'O

spear —?—.' The word is familiar through BkPhl. *nēzak*, NP. *nīzah*, 'spear.'

c 9. *nēv*: see note above, b 15.

c 10. *razmyōz*: NP. *razmyōz*, 'stirring up (seeking) battle, belligerent, militant,' cf. Bthl. p. 210 bot. This adjective occurs also M. 43 r, 6 (= Mū. p. 78 bot.), and possibly S. 13 b 8 (= Sm. p. 18 bot.), [*raz*]myōz; also in *razmyōz[ā]n*, W. and L. p. 121 top, line 14, with n. 4; consult likewise note above, a 4, and the note previously on S. 9 c 31. The component elements of this word, *razm*, 'battle ranks' + *yōz*, 'stirring, confusing,' can well be illustrated from the Avesta, Yt. 14. 62, *yō rasmanō yaozayeiti*, 'who throws into confusion the ranks in battle.'

c 10. *padīy(?)zānd*: the vowels or vowel before *z* are not clear in the reproduction, even under the glass. The reading *yy* (*īy*) has here been adopted after some hesitation; Salemann (p. 5 mid.) writes thus also in his Hebrew transliteration, and translates (p. 6 top) 'an greifen (?)', i.e. 'attack,' although he seems to be troubled about the transcription, as shown by his adding the comment 'sic (?)' on p. 46 mid. If we adopt this reading *padīyzānd* (with *īy*) and render 'smite back, repel,' we may compare the verbal root Av. *paiti-ja-*, 'strike back, repulse,' noting also, regarding Av. *j* = TPhl. *z*, Bthl. p. 51 note \*\*. The difficulty would be that one would then expect \**-zanānd*. (It must be conceded, however, that the character(s) before *z* look(s) nearly as much like *ā* or *vē*, though it would be hazardous, till other texts are rendered accessible, to conjecture \**padāzānd* (?), 'recognize, counter-observe' (cf. Soghd. *paṭzān*, *paṭzāndārant*, Müller, *Soghdische Texte I*, 31. 9; 52. 13) or \**padvēzānd* (?), 'do counter-harm,' cf. note above on b 3).

c 11. *ānāmānd*: Sm. p. 6 top and cf. p. 36 top (cf. also Sm. *MStud.* p. 54 mid.) renders 'mögen sie . . . ab wenden,' assuming a derivation from a theoretic \**ānāftan*, 'ab wenden, ab weisen,' on the basis of Fragment S. 12 b 34 (= Sm. p. 17 mid.), *abzār 'im ānāpt*, which he translates (p. 36 bot.) 'die mittel welche ich zurück wis'; he furthermore adds M. 733 v, 5 (= Mū. p. 32 top), 'ūd yak ač yak zarīg ānām[ēd], 'und wendet (2. plur.) einer von den andern den zorn ab'; furthermore he compares likewise the BkPhl. version of Av. Ys. 57. 18 (= Phl. 56. 7. 8-9),

*frāž ānāmēt, frāž . . . ānāmēnd*, as a translation of Av. *frānāmāite* and *frā . . . nāmante*, 'he does (they do) not flee before.' Salemann's interpretation in the sense of 'ward off' does not seem altogether satisfactory in the present passage. Yet a comparison of *ānāmēnd* with the meaning of Skt. *√nam + ā* (caus.), 'to make bend, to humble or subjugate,' though tempting, would require further explanation in the light of difficulties involved.

c 12. *dūr kūnānd*: 'may they make afar,' i.e. 'banish afar, keep at a distance.'

c 12. *ō*: the reading here is unquestionable, and *ō* may be regarded as a preposition indicating or defining the objective relation, as after certain verbs elsewhere in TPhl., e.g. after *'istāvādan* (cf. Sm. MS. p. 106, 107), etc., compare also especially M. 4, p. 8, line 1 (= Mü. p. 58 bot.), *vanānd 'ō vadnargārān 'ī rāstīh*, 'may they conquer the evil opponents (?) of rectitude.'

c 13. *dūšmēnūn*: 'inimici'; this undoubted plural, as occurring three times in the supplementary portion of M. 2 (= Müller, *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1081; cf. also T. II, D 178, II 1, 5a, *kē-m aažūn* (for *āžān* pl.) 'izvāyāh, 'who will drive away desires from me?' in W. and L., *Die Stellung*, p. 112 bot.), is probably to be most easily explained as a form (-*ūn* for -*ān*) anticipating the later common pronunciation of -*ān* in Modern Persian, e.g. *nūn* (for *nān*), 'bread,' *Ṭīhrūn* (for *Ṭīhrān*), 'Teheran,' *Iṣfahūn* for *Iṣfahān*, 'Ispahan,' etc. The sg. *dūšmēn* itself is found in S. 8 b 4 (= Sm. pp. 6-7); 35 b 2 (= Sm. p. 26 mid.). Moreover, by the side of the pl. form *dūšmēnūn* is found likewise the pl. *dūšmēnēn*, M. 4, p. 3, line 11 (= Mü. p. 53 top); 7 b (= Mü. p. 108 bot.); 551 r, 6 (= Mü. p. 67 bot.), which Sm. p. 67 top regards as possibly 'scriptio defectiva,' though doubtless wrongly in the light of later examples, and cf. Bthl. p. 150 mid. Two pages are devoted by Bthl. (pp. 152-153) to showing that this form *dūšmēnūn* may be used syntactically as plural; and to the number of examples regarding this adj. as plural may be added the above passages, which were not then available to him.

c 14. *rāstīh*: BkPhl. *rāstīh*, 'rectitude, truth, justice,' cf. NP. *rāst*, 'right, just'; concerning the etymology of this word see Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wb.* 1526, on OP. *rāsta-*.

c 15. *patiyārān*: 'opponents'; cf. M. 4, p. 5, l. 21 (= Mü. p.

56 top), *paityār* (sg.), and Av. *paityāra-*, 'opposition,' a regular Ahrimanian word.

c 15. *kērbagīy*: or -*ī*, 'merit, virtue, good work,' as in M. 3 v, 13 (= Mü. p. 82 mid.); an abstract from *kērbag* or *qērbag* (cf. d 12 and elsewhere), cf. BkPhl. *karfakīh*; see likewise in other TPhl. Fragments *qērbagēft* and *kērbakar* (refs. Sm. MS. p. 89 bot.). Refer for the etymology to Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 121 (on p. 282).

c 16. *rēzīšn*: the context shows that this is used here in an Ahrimanian sense; it appears also as a word in BkPhl., *rēzīšn* or *rēzīšn* (Sm. p. 48 mid.), and is connected with BkPhl. and NP. *rēxtan*, 'to pour, flow, disperse, dissolve'; therefore 'dissolution' has been chosen here to translate it. Sm. pp. 6 mid., 48 mid., renders it by 'zerfliessen.'

c 17. 'y b (*āyab*): this noun is one of the designations for 'hell,' like BkPhl. *dūšōx*, and TPhl. *dūšōx* (*dōšōx*) in M. 477 v, 8 (= Mü. p. 15 mid.); it occurs several times in the Fragments, S. 14 a 6 (= Sm. p. 19 bot.), *āyab ādūrēn*, 'the fiery hell'; M. 470 r, 8, 21; v, 2, [3], 9 (= Mü. pp. 20 top, bot., 21 top). The etymology is not yet certain. For the various words for Hell consult note on M. 99 d 18, above.

c 18. *ādūrēn*: thus, with the common adjectival ending -*ēn*, cf. M. 98 a 14 (= Mü. p. 38 bot.) and elsewhere.

c 18-19. *čašm 'ī [rē]škēn*: lit. 'the eye which is wounding'—an allusion to the Evil Eye. The adj. form *rēškēn* seems here certain from S. 17 a 1 (= Sm. p. 21 top), *rēšk[ēn]*, and S. 13 b 5 (= Sm. p. 18-19), *rēšgē(?)n(?)*, as well as from BkPhl. *rēškun* or *rēškūn*, Ardā Virāf 99.2; Hadhōkht Nask 2.3.37, being a derivative from BkPhl. *rēš*, 'wound, hurt' + adj. suffix -*kun* or -*kūn* (West and Haug, *Glossary of the Arda Viraf*, p. 144); compare likewise Av. *raēša-*, Skt. *reṣa-*, 'wound,' NP. *rēš*, and cf. also NP. *rēškan*, 'wounded, disappointed.' (The idea that *rēškēn* might be divided as 'wounding-wrath' may be rejected.)

c 19. *dīl*: regarding the etymology of this word see Bthl. p. 29 mid., 34 bot., 41 top, 144 top.

c 20. [v]: only a remnant of this required connective is decipherable here owing to a mutilation at the edge of the page.

c 20. *d (?) v x v n d* (*davxvand* or *dōxvand?*): the individual



letters of this epithet of Ahriman are legible with the possible exception of the initial character, which is blurred in the lithographed reproduction. The decipherment *d* has been finally adopted, although under the glass the letter looks as if it might possibly be read as *n*, or, less probably, as *r*. Salemann (pp. 5 bot., 37 bot.) also transliterates in Hebrew letters as *d v x v n d*. The vocalization of the word, however, is a matter for further consideration.

For the second part of this epithet the proposal is here offered to read as *-xvand*, comparing NP. *xvand*, 'lord, prince.'

For the first part it would then be natural to suggest that this attribute of Ahriman contains the idea of Prince of Deceit or Lies, comparing *d v*, *dō-*, with the Av. √*dab-*, *dav-*, 'to deceive,' adj. *a-daoya-*, 'undeceivable, that cannot be lied to,' also adj. *adavi-*, 'undeceiving'; see Bthl. *Altiran. Wb.* 679, 56, 57, for these forms; thus *dav-*, *dab-*, *daw-*, 'deceit.' This conjecture to solve the problem of *d v x v n d* was previously indicated in *JRAS.* 1924, p. 220 (reprinted in Study VII, p. 221 top) in connection with BkPhl. *dav-varžišnāh ēstakīh*, 'the teaching of deceitful action.' We may well believe that *davxvand* designates Ahriman as the 'Lord of Lies.' (A notion that this first syllable (*d v*) of the word might be taken as an abridged form for *dūš* has been discarded for various good reasons.)

c 20. *Ahrāmēn*: i.e. the evil spirit Ahriman, Av. *Aēra Mainyu-*, BkPhl. *Ahrāman*, NP. *Ahrīman*, Greek 'Αρειμάνιος. The name occurs several times thus far in the Fragments: S. 37 a 2-3 (= Sm. p. 26 bot.), *dē[ v ? A ]hramēn*, 'the demon (?) Ahriman'; M. 4, p. 5, l. 22 (= Mü. p. 56 top), *darvand Ahrāmēn*, 'the wicked Ahriman'; M. 472 r, 16 (= Mü. p. 18 mid.), *Āz 'ūd Ahrāmēn vā d[ēvān 'ūd] parīgān*, 'Āz and Ahriman and the Demons and Witches'; M. 28 r, 6-7 (= Mü. p. 94 bot.), *'Ōhrmīzd 'ūd Ahrāmēn*, 'Ormazd and Ahriman,' (denied to be brothers). In the Turkish Manichaean texts Ahriman is regularly designated by the name *Šmnu*. With regard to Ahriman and the demons in Zoroastrianism see Jackson, in *Grundr. Iran. Philol.* 2. 646-668 = id. *Zor. Studies*, 67-109.

## Notes on S. 7 verso, column d

d 1. *d(?)* ----- : even this letter (*d*) is not certain, and the rest of the line is missing, owing to the leaf's being torn at the top. It would be a mere guess to conjecture *d[ā 'ō abdūmīh 'ē] zamān*, 'unto the end of time,' or *d[ā 'ō žāyedān 'ē] zamān*, 'to eternity of time,' or something similar to fill the gap.

d 2. 'ō[*h bēh*]: see note above, a 14.

d 3-4. In the first of these two faded rubric lines it may be possible (?) under the glass to decipher *čē r[ōšanā]n*, but the rest remains wholly illegible. Perhaps the carmine ink in the original manuscript might be restored by some chemical process.

d 5. *ba'ān*: 'divinities'; see note above on b 12, and cf. Bthl. pp. 77-78.

d 6. *maḥrēspandān*: see above, b 13, and consult the note previously on S. 9 a 11, *amaḥrāspandān*.

d 6. 'istāvadān: sic; the tiny bar (̣) above *n* at the end of the line marks the abridgment from -ān, see note above, b 13.

d 7. *prēstagān ravānčīnān*: 'the soul-gathering angels,' i.e. who collect the released particles of light in the soul that are ultimately separated from the evil elements in man's earthly make-up. This well-known Manichaean doctrine with regard to these angels, five in number, is referred to likewise in the Cosmogonic Fragment (see above, p. 44), M. 98 a, lines 16 and 22 (= Mü. p. 38 bot., 39 top), *ravānčīn prēstag panz* (or *panj*), 'the five soul-gathering angel(s)' (observe sg. for plur. with a defining numeral, as found also elsewhere). The context there shows that five of these were in the Sun and five in the Moon. The adj. *ravānčīn* is applied likewise to the faithful in the Hermas allegory M. 97 d 18 (= Müller, *Herma-Stelle*, p. 1080), *k[ē] pad vīsp zamān xūb 'ūd xvaš rāy 'ūd ravānčīn hēnd*, 'who at all times are good and of excellent counsel (? cf. NP. *xūš-rāy*) and gathering (the light particles of) the soul.' The derivation of the adj. *ravānčīn* is certain, as coming from *ravān*, 'soul' (BkPhl. *rūbān*, Av. *urvān*-), and the verbal radical which is found in Av. √ *či*-, Phl. *čītan*, NP. *čīdan*. There are allusions to 'the five (soul-)gathering lights' and 'the five envoys of light that gather,' in a Chinese hymn in praise of the

sun (Mihr) and of Jesus, H, stanzas 362, 370, see W. and L. *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 119 bot., 120 mid., 50 bot.

d 8. *padīravāgān*: plur. pres. act. ptcpl. of \**padīrūftan* or °*rēptan*, cf. *padīrānd* in the next line, d 9, and *padīrēft(-)ānād* in S. 9 b 23, previously; likewise to be recalled are numerous other instances of this verb cited by Sm. *MStud.* p. 110 bot.; furthermore see Bthl. pp. 30 mid., 38 top, 78 mid., 179 n. 4, and consult Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 290, regarding BkPhl. *paīraftan*, NP. *paḍīruftan*, 'to receive, accept.'

d 8. *grīw*: see note on the previous Fragment S. 9 a 4, p. 88 above.

d 9. *padīrānd*: subjunctive; see note on d 8.

d 10. *maḥr*: 'hymn,' i.e. word of inspired tone; this designation (cf. Av. *māθra-*, BkPhl. *mansr*, Skt. *māntra*, 'word, sacred text, spell') is naturally found several times in the Manichaean Hymn-Book *Maḥrnāmag*, ed. Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 16, ll. 173, 183, *maḥrān* (pl.), ll. 170, 191, 199 (= p. 16), *maḥrnāmag*. Regarding the Manichaean doctrine of the efficacy of 'praises, hymns, good words, and pious deeds' (cf. below, d 12) see the Fihrist, '*alam at-tasbīḥ*, 'world of praise,' ed. Flügel, p. 57, line 13, p. 90, line 8, p. 232 n. 132, and compare Alfarc, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, 2. 125-126. Cf. W. Bang, 'Manichaeische Hymnen,' in *Muséon* (1925), 38. 1-55.

d 11. 'istāyīšn: this (with 'yod' = yi) seems, after careful examination with the magnifying-glass, to be the best reading, although Salemann (p. 5 mid.) reads 'istāvišn (while allowing, p. 46 mid., also °višn, which is more common); but both the forms (°yišn and °višn) are found in TPhl., each a half dozen times. Concerning -yišn see Bthl. p. 75 top. Cf. Lentz, *Zt. f. Ind. u. Iran.* 4. 267 n 1.

d 12. *qērbag*: see note above on c 15.

d 12. *qērdagān*: plural of *kērdag* or *qērdag*, BkPhl. *kartak*, 'deed, good action,' a noun derived from a pass. ptcpl.; cf. also the derivative adj. *qērdagār*, pl. °*ān*, b 11 and S. 9 b 24. On the religious significance of the phrase *qērdagān bār*, 'the fruit of good works' (the governed noun with genitival force preceding the one on which it depends, as often), cf. a 9 *parēh ḡars* and d 16 *pāsānā qērbag*.

d 13. *bār*: lit. (1) 'burden' (Skt. *bhāra*), (2) 'result, fruit (of good works),' as in M. 17 e = 172 b 18 (= Mü. pp. 26 mid., 101 bot.), *bār* 'ī *rāstīy*, 'fruit of rectitude'; M. 97 b 10 (= Müller, *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1078 bot.), *bār* 'ī *arda'īy*, 'fruit of righteousness'; cf. also M. 477 r, 11 (= Mü. p. 14 mid.), *xwār* 'ūd *bār*, 'food and drink' (lit. 'fruit').

d 13. *vaḥībḡārī*: so likewise Salemann transcribes this word here (with *b*) in his Hebrew transliteration, p. 5 mid., 38 bot.; similarly Müller (1904) gives '*vaḥēbgār*' in M. 733 v, 14 (= Mü. p. 32 mid.). Although in Salemann's lithographed reproduction of our present passage the letter after *y* (*ī*) looks almost as much like an Estrangelo *m*, the *b* (however to be accounted for) has been finally adopted after a careful study of the character with the late Dr. Yohannan. The adj. *vaḥīgār* (without *b*) occurs in M. 64 v, 3 (= Mü. p. 93 top), where the reading is assured by the cantillated text; furthermore, *vaḥīgār* (sg.) and *vaḥīgārān* (pl.) appear also in Maḥrnāmag, lines 169, 424 (= Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 16 top, 28 top). While the intrusion of the *b* in *vaḥībḡārī* remains unexplained, this abstract noun is of course cognate with the adjective *vaḥīgār*, of which *vaḥībḡār* above must be a doublet.

α. Before discussing *vaḥīgār* and *vaḥībḡārī*, which suggest the idea of doing good, beneficence and goodness, we may first turn to the compound adjective derivative *vaḥīdēnān* (*Vaḥīdēnān*), 'those of the Good Religion' (cf. Av. *Vaḥuhī Daēnā*, BkPhl. *Vēh Dēn* and NP. *Bah Dīn*), which occurs in M. 543 r, 4 (= Mü. p. 79 mid.). The context shows that the term *Vaḥīdēnān*, 'those of the Good Religion,' is here employed to denote the followers of the faith of which Mānī was the new (*nōg*) teacher, in contrast to Zoroastrianism, which is styled in the same Fragment, *Dēn Māzdēs*, 'the Mazdayasnian religion' (cf. Av. *Daēna Māzdayasniš*). The internal -ī- in *vaḥīdēn* is simply the now familiar anaptyctic vowel, or 'Murmelvokal,' occurring frequently in TPhl. between two consonants (consult references in the note on S. 9 a 11, above). In this word, therefore, the meaning 'good' is certain. Müller (*loc. cit.*) translates, 'den guten Glauben Habenden.'

β. To return now to the adjective *vaḥīgār*, with its associated abstract *vaḥībḡārī*. The form *vaḥīgār* shows the anaptyctic or

epenthetic *-z-*, explained above, and the meaning of the adjective, as I believe, would be 'doing good, beneficent.' The meaning of *vaḥībgārī* in our passage would be 'the good-doing, beneficence, benefaction,' and the phrase *vaḥībgārī 'i Vaḥman rōšan* signifies 'the beneficence of the luminous Vaḥman.' In like manner we would translate the first of the adjectival passages above, M. 64 v, 3 (= Mü. p. 93 top), *āgad yazd ardāv ač vaḥīštav rōšan vaḥīgār* as 'come is the holy god (i.e. Mānī) from the Heaven of Light, the beneficent one.' Here also Müller (in 1904) rendered *vaḥīgār*, 'der Gütige.' This same attribute is given likewise to a scribe who beneficently began the copying of the Maḥrnāmag and is referred to by name in line 169 (= Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 16 top) as *Šād 'Örmīzd vaḥīgār*, 'the beneficent Šād Örmīzd'; and finally in line 424 (= Müller, *op. cit.* p. 28 top), referring evidently to the Brethren as *āmūstān 'ūd vaḥīgārān*, 'the downcast and (= but) good-doing ones' (i.e. humble in heart but beneficent in action). The signification 'good' (*vaḥ*) suits well in this set of examples and the above-proposed explanation of *-z-* as a cushion-sound appears to be fully warranted.

γ. On the other hand, the abstract forms *v y ḥ y y = vēḥīy*, pl. *vēḥīhān*, which I formerly took to mean 'goodness, good qualities' (so likewise Salemann, *MStud.* p. 74 mid.), must now (1930) be translated as 'wisdom(s).' The reason is that, in M. 172 r, 7-8 (= Mü. p. 100 bot., 102 mid.), *Qanīgrōšan sar 'i vīspān vēḥīhān*, and M. 172 r, 13-14 (= Mü. p. 101 top, 103 top), *pad sōr 'i pīdar*, *pad āprīn 'i mādar*, 'ūd *pad vēḥīy 'i pūsar*, the ordinary TPhl. text is accompanied by a version in a 'Pahlavi Dialect' (i.e. S o g h d i a n), in which the forms that correspond to *vēḥīhān*, *vēḥīy* are given respectively by Müller (p. 100-101) as *γarβākiyā* and *γarβākiyāh*, and the Christian Soghdian texts (cf. Müller, 'Soghdische Texte I,' *AbhKPAW.* 1913, p. 40, line 1, p. 43, line 15) show that *γarβāq* means 'knowing, wise.' See also Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 126 bot., 38 mid., and their notes on lines 5 and 8 of the Phonetic Hymn, p. 87 top, 88 top.

Furthermore, concerning *vaḥīy*, 'wisdom,' Müller ('Hermas-Stelle' in *SPAW.* (1905) 51. 1082), was the first to draw attention to the parallelism between *zīrēft* (North Dialect) and *vaḥīy* in the

enumeration of the four attributes of the Supreme Being as 'Great Majesties' (lit. 'greatnesses') spoken of in the Fihrist (Flügel, *Mani*, p. 95 mid. and n. 220). This TPhl. list of the four attributes (fully supported later by a Turkish Fragment, the Iranian caption of which has Turkish equivalents also, including *žirēft* = *bilgā*, as published by Le Coq, *Turk. Man.* 2. p. 10), is given by Müller (*loc. cit.*) as follows:

	God	Light	Power	Wisdom
in M. 176 (= Mü. p. 61-62)	<i>Bag</i>	<i>Rōšan</i>	<i>Zāvar</i>	<i>Žirēft</i>
in M. 31 (Mü. 'Hermas')	<i>Yazd</i>	<i>Rōšan</i>	<i>Zōr</i>	<i>Vaḥīh</i>
in M. 324 (= Mü. p. 74 bot.)	<i>Bē Zarvān</i>	<i>Rōšan</i>	<i>Zōr</i>	<i>Vaḥīy</i>

Accordingly, Müller translates M. 79 c, 14-15 (= *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1078 bot.) *dānīšn 'ūd vaḥīh*, 'Wissen und Weisheit.' In this light we should probably take into consideration and translate the following instances: M. 17 h 6 (2d col. last line = Mü. 27 mid., cf. Sm. *MS.* p. 73 top) *dānāgān vaḥī[h]* as 'the wisdom of those knowing'; likewise M. 731 v, 8 (= Mü. p. 33 mid.) *'in vaḥīh*, 'this wisdom' (referring to the wisdom which the disciples had received). Salemann, *MStud.* p. 73 top, *vaḥīy*, *vaḥīh*, and compounds (except *vaḥīdēn*), follows Müller with 'weisheit'; but we must observe, as remarked above, that he translates (p. 74 mid.) *vēḥīh*, *vēḥīhān*, 'güte, gut,' respectively. However, Salemann renders the compound adjective *vaḥīgār* (p. 73 top) by 'weisheit verleihend,' as does Müller, *Doppelblatt*, line 169, 'Schad Ormizd, des Weisen' (*vaḥīgār*), though Müller adds a question mark later after his own rendering of *vaḥīgārān* (pl.) at line 424, *āmūstān 'ūd vaḥīgārān*, 'Betrübte und Weise (?)'—perhaps having slightly modified his view. However that may be, I have given reasons above (p. 152β) for my own translation of *vaḥīgār*, as 'good-doing, beneficent.'

From the diverging evidence adduced we appear to be justified in concluding that there were two separate words, similar in appearance but of different origin, the one meaning 'good,' the other 'wisdom,' even though it is sometimes difficult to draw the distinction between them. Thus Bartholomae, 'Zur Kenntnis V.' p. 19 n. 1, in *SBHdAW.* 1923, p. 19 n. 1, also recognizes that 'die *Turfan* Texte neben *vH=np. bih* "besser, gut" noch ein

zweites *vh* kennen, enthalten in *vhyh*, *vhyy* und *vhyg'r* (dies auch M. 1 A. 169 und B. 424); zur Bedeutung "weisheit" für *vhyh* s. FWKMüller SberlAW. 1905. 1082.' Regarding the derivation of *vhyh* as 'wisdom,' he adds: 'Ich meine die Bedeutung lässt über die Etymologie keinen Zweifel. Das -*h*- weist auf ar. -*d*-, -*dh*-, es wird also ein ar. \**uáida*- "wissend, weise" zugrund liegen.' He has some further comments, including a reference to BkPhl. *murv, vēhān*, 'augures,' as those wise in omens, but gives nothing in regard to TPhl. *vēhīy*, *vēhīhān*, above. In any case, Bartholomae's note is of value as regards the derivation of the forms *vahīh*, *vahīy*, meaning 'wisdom, even if one holds a different opinion regarding *vahīgār*, which he includes in his list above.

My results, to repeat again, are that *vahīgār* means 'doing good, beneficent' and that *vahībgarī* signifies 'beneficence.' Beneficence, moreover, would naturally be a characteristic of *Vahman*, 'Good Mind.'

d 14. *Vahman*: here singular; see note above on a 4.

d 14. 'ū-š: 'and may this, etc.' We seem here clearly to have an instance of the pronoun *š* anticipating the nouns *zōr* and *pāsbānī qērbag* directly to follow. Other examples are listed in Salemann, *Manichaica* III-IV, p. 48 bot. 2 š, 'als abkürzung für 'ūš zum sazbeginne.' Consult further the note above on S. 9 b 17 end (though there rather adverse in interpreting that particular passage).

d 15. ' ' y ' d (*āyād*): 'there shall come,' subjunctive; cf. Av. √*i-* + *ā*.

d 16. *nērōg*: 'strength, virility, manliness,' cf. BkPhl. *nērōk*, Pāz. *nīrō*, NP. *nīrō*, from Av. \**nairyava*-, 'manliness,' cf. *nairyā*-, 'manly,' Skt. *nārya*- (see Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 1064; Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 104). This term occurs in the same collocation M. 4, p. 8, line 12 (= Mü. p. 59 top), *zōr 'ūd nērōg*, 'power and strength,' and in the adj. *nērōgāvēnd*, M. 4, p. 8, line 4, *nērōgāvēnd bay*, 'the strong divinity,' and M. 43 r, 5 (= Mü. p. 78 bot.), *nērōgāvēnd yazd*, 'the strong god.'

d 16-17. *pāsbānī qērbag*: 'the keeping, or preservation, of meritorious action' (cf. above, a 9 note, *farēh țars*, also d 12 *qērdagān bār*). The abstract *pāsbānī*, 'protection's merit, the virtue of keeping up,' is a derivative from the noun *pāsbān*,

common in TPhl., see M. 20 d 7; 4, p. 5, l. 16; 43 v, 5 (= Mü. pp. 46 bot., 55 bot., 79 top); also M. 1. 3 (= Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, p. 351, in *SbKPAW*. 1904). Compare likewise BkPhl. *pāspān*, NP. *pāsbān* (Bthl. p. 165 mid.) as a derivative from Av. *pāθra-*, 'protection, keeping' (in *pāθravant-*) and from Skt. Av. √ *pā-*, 'to keep, protect, preserve.' Therefore 'keeping watch.' Cf. Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 36 top, p. 204 bot.; also cf. °*pān* (°*wān*) in Unvala, *King Husrav*, p. 92 § 585. Observe syntactically the omission of the connective 'i after the abstract *pāsbānē*, as naturally when the genitival word precedes.

d 17. *hamāg*: 'whole, entire'; this adj. (with -*āg*) occurs also in Maḥrnāmag, line 222 (= Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 17 bot.), though as *hamag* (with -*āg*) in M. 102 r, 6, 8, 12, 15, 20 (= Mü. pp. 64 bot., 65 top, mid.); 544 r, 12, v, 1, 4 (= Mü. pp. 73 bot., 74 mid.); 730 v, 11 (= Mü. p. 49 bot.); compare similarly BkPhl. *hamāk*, *hamāk* (West and Haug, *Glossary*, pp. 32, 36). For etymology cf. Skt. *samā*, 'same, all, entire,' Av. and OP. *hama-*, NP. *hamah*.

d 18. *dēn yōzdaḥr*: regarding this common designation of Māni's Religion, and its congregation implied, see note above, a 18, and cf. the Fihrist, ed. Flügel, p. 95, 294-299.

d 18. *ḡ r ' y* (*ḡrāy*): sic, with *ḡ* for *f*; and so rightly Salemann (p. 5), who transcribes likewise (p. 47 top) as *f r ' y*. Salemann properly translates as 'mer, ser vil,' comparing BkPhl. *ḡrāi*, *ḡrāy*, or *frēh*. Etymologically *ḡrāy* (i.e. *frāy*) is to be connected with Av. *frāyah-*, 'more, fuller, plus' (for cognates see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* coll. 1018, 1019; id. *SbHbAW*. 1919. 31 § 19). The same phrase as here is found likewise in Maḥrnāmag, l. 215 (= Müller, *Doppelblatt*, p. 17 mid.), *frāy ūa vēš*, 'fuller and more'; cf. furthermore Maḥrnāmag, line 41 (*op. cit.* p. 10 top), *ḡrāy 'ōyšāān*, 'more of them.'

d 19. *vēš*: BkPhl. *vēš*, NP. *bēš*; probably a comparative from Av. \**vasyah-* (cf. OP. *vasiy*, adv., 'much, greatly,' lit. 'at will,' NP. *bas*, 'much, enough'). Consult, furthermore, Bartholomae, 'Zur Etymologie der idg. Sprachen,' in *SHbAW*. 1919. 10. Abh. p. 26-27. The adv. TPhl. *vēš* appears furthermore in S. 12 c 27, 33 (= Sm. p. 17). See likewise the preceding note.

d 19. *amah*: see note above on a 10.



d 20. *ardāvān*: cf. above, a 11, and see note on previous Fragment S. 9 c 9.

d 20. *niyōšāgān*: the crowded *ā* of *-ān*, at the end of the line, is indicated by a slight mark above, between *g* and *n* (cf. notes on b 13, d 6). Regarding the 'Hearers, Auditores' consult note above, a 12.

There is no punctuation-mark after this word here to indicate the close of the sentence or the end of the selection, though the sense appears to be complete.

## STUDY V

### THE MANICHAEAN FRAGMENT S. 8 IN TURFAN PAHLAVI \*

This Fragment, S. 8 (Kr. 2), reproduced by Salemann in *Manichaica III-IV* (*Izv. Imp. Akad. Nauk*, 6. 1912), p. 7, with a transcription in Hebrew letters and a tentative translation in Latin, was brought from Turfan to St. Petersburg in 1908 by N. Krotkov, Russian Consul at Urumchi. It is only a very small leaf, measuring approximately  $2 \frac{7}{8} \times 2$  inches (7.3 x 5.3 cm.), written on each side of the page in a single column ( $2 \frac{1}{4} \times 1 \frac{1}{4}$  in. = 5.7 x 3.3 cm.), and numbers only 10 lines to the column, with traces of a faded caption for each. The last line of the verso (b, 10), [ēē] *ta hm asē 'ūd*, '[for] he is strong and - - -', leaves us hopeless to guess what the next folio, which has not been preserved, may have contained. The book from which our leaf came must have been of small format.

The handwriting (merely fair) is somewhat larger than that in S. 9, and considerably larger than the very minute script of S. 7, but is not so large as the bold hand of S. 13, or of S. 31, as reproduced by Salemann, *op. cit.* p. 18-19; 24-25. Reference is made below in the Notes (a, 1, 9) to the use twice of a rather long dash as a space-filler within the line, in order to make the last letter end even with the rest.

A caption is faintly discernible at the top of the first page (a, o), and still less so at the top of the second (b, o), but in each case the red ink is so faded as to be practically illegible in Salemann's reproduction. By using a microscope it seems possible, though not certain, to decipher *s* (?) *n d*

\* By special arrangement this article is expected to appear, about the same time, also in the volume of *Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of Dastur Cursetji Erachji Parry*, London, 1931.

in the recto caption, while the verso caption is wholly undecipherable, and it would be fruitless to speculate about either heading unless some chemical process might one day restore the faded rubrics in this Fragment at Leningrad. Salemann makes no mention of these captions, nor does he take them into account when numbering the lines of his transliteration into Hebrew characters.

As to metre, occasional traces of the old Iranian octosyllabic movement seem recognizable, as in some other TPhl. Fragments (so also Salemann, p. 6), thus indicating that we may have in this a remnant of narrative account in verse. The composition, however, I would judge to belong to a period considerably after Mānī's death.

The contents of this brief Fragment, though fairly translatable, are difficult to interpret owing to the lack of any setting. The first five lines of the recto page (a, 1-5) indicate that a massacre of members of the higher Manichaean clergy (Manichaean as shown by the adjective *rōšānān*, 'those of the Light') has taken place and the priests, below them, are grief-stricken. Regarding this, consult the remarks below in the note on a, 1. As I view the piece (see notes on a, 6-7) the recto page conveys the impression that the religious killings which had been begun were due to or countenanced by an overweening monarch who keeps the smaller kingdoms (*šahrān*) split up to weaken their individual power, and thus rules over the kingdom (*šahr*) as a whole with imperial sway. From the allusion (a, 8-9) to the sun and the moon—emblems of the Kingly Glory of the Sasanids (cf. note below on a 10, *ispēzd*)—I should judge that this stigmatized monarch belonged to the House of Sāsān.

The second page (or verso b) expresses the hope for a divine avenger, the Lord Ohrmīzd (Primal Man), potent with spear and armor, as in the primordial conflict when he was ultimately triumphant over the enemy. The looked-

for coming of this champion to bring release at the day of reckoning is watchfully awaited by all (b, 6-10). Mānī taught that the end of the world was near at hand (cf. S. 9 c, 30-34—d, 1-34), at which time, as we know from other Fragments (M. 470 r, 13-24; M. 583, see Reitzenstein, *Psyche*, p. 4, and cf. Jackson, *JRAS.* 1924, p. 148-149), the god Ohrmīzd will appear from the northern region of heaven, accompanied by the gods who preside over the other three regions of the sky, and together they will usher in the final order of things that means the complete victory of Light over Darkness. This second page of our Fragment has therefore a ringing note of promise in contrast to the despondent chord which runs through the first. But who is the one who rules the Kingdom (Empire) so evilly that clerics of Mānī's faith have been massacred?

To answer this question we can only resort to surmise. It is possible that there may have been persecutions and massacres at the time when Shāhpur I banished Mānī from the Persian realm, but we have no direct evidence to support this. Nor do there seem to have been any persecutions when Mānī returned from Central Asia to Persia during the short reign of Hōrmīzd I, who appears to have been tolerant towards him. A more likely conjecture is that these killings took place in the four years' reign of Bahrām I (A.D. 273-276?), who, yielding to Magian pressure, put Mānī to death and then, according to some of the Arabic writers, buried two hundred of his followers alive, head downwards in the earth, with the boast, 'I have laid out a garden, planted with men instead of trees' (for the Arabic sources see Flügel, *Mani*, p. 330-332). But it may be still more plausible to suggest, if we place the Fragment somewhat later, that the stigmatized ruler was Khusrau I, Anōshīrvān (531-579), since we know that in 528, during the reign of his father Kavādh, he instituted a wholesale massacre of the communistic Mazdakites and,

with his strict Zoroastrian orthodoxy, must have been equally adverse to the Manichaeans as heretical and antinomian in their tendencies. For the persecution of the Mazdakites as akin, see J. J. Modi, 'Mazdak, the Iranian Socialist,' in *The Hoshang Memorial Volume*, p. 123, 124, Bombay, 1918; R. A. Nicholson, 'Mazdak,' in Hastings, *Encycl. Relig. and Ethics*, 8. 508-510; E. Colby, 'Religion and Politics in Early Persia,' in *The Open Court*, 36. 410-412, Chicago, 1922; and consult especially A. Christensen, 'Le Règne du roi Kawādh,' in *Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, 9. 29, 57, Copenhagen, 1925. While the Byzantine writers Malalas and Theophanes may have confused the Manichaeans with the Mazdakites, because of certain resemblances in their doctrines, we have convincing evidence from Arabic authors that Khusrau I (Anōshīrvān) put Manichaeans to death as well as the Mazdakites in his zealous efforts to exterminate all whom the Magian priests regarded as heretics. In this very connection the historian Ṭabarī, who died in 923 A.D., distinctly adds that 'Khusrau, furthermore, killed some Manichaeans' (see the translation of Ṭabarī in Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 154-155); moreover, Nöldeke (p. 460) expresses his own opinion that Khusrau spared neither the Mazdakites nor the genuine Manichaeans. Similarly Abū'l-Fidā (1273-1331 A.D.), in relating that Anōshīrvān caused Mazdak to be executed and granted immunity to anyone who killed Mazdakites, further states that 'he also caused a great number of Manichaeans to be killed'—see the rendering of this passage by Christensen, *op. cit.* p. 56-57. We have likewise the authority of the Dēnkart, 4. 28, for the fact that Khusrau-Anōshīrvān took measures against 'every heresy'—*har (kolā) ahramōkīh*—see text ed. Madan, 1. p. 413, and transl. West, *SBE.* 37. 415; cf. Christensen, *op. cit.* p. 21. The suggestion, therefore, to regard the Manichaean

slaughter, to which our Fragment refers, as having taken place rather in Khusrau-Anōshīrvān's reign, or just before he came to the throne, may not be wholly amiss.

## TEXT AND VERBATIM TRANSLATION

## S. 8 recto a and verso b

(Transliteration of  
Estrangelo Script)

(Word-for-word Translation  
of Text)

## R e c t o a

- a 1. *h r y b t g'—[ n ]* 'Teachers,  
       (*hrēbatagān*)<sup>1</sup>  
*rōšanān*<sup>2</sup> 'īm the Light ones, for this  
*rāī*<sup>3</sup> *kūšt*<sup>4</sup> *hēnd* reason are killed  
*'ūd* ' ' *t r v n* ' *n* and the Priests  
       (*ātarvanān*)<sup>5</sup>
- a 5. 'īm *rāī mōyēnd*<sup>6</sup> for this reason are lamenting  
       ⊙ *vīspān šahrān*<sup>7</sup> ⊙ All the kingdoms  
*xvad sīst*<sup>7</sup> *dārē[d]* himself keeps divided,  
*'ūd pad* + *xvar*<sup>8</sup> 'ū[d] and through the sun and  
*māh*<sup>9</sup> — *xvad* [īē]<sup>10</sup> moon himself [indeed]  
a 10. ' *s p y z d*<sup>11</sup> *ab*[ar] shines over

## V e r s o b

- b 1. *šahr* ⊙ *zēn*<sup>12</sup> *ast* the Kingdom ⊙ There is the  
       armor  
       'ūd *nēzag*<sup>12</sup> 'īg and spear of  
       'Ōhrmīzd *bē*<sup>12</sup> Ōhrmīzd the divinity,  
       *kē*<sup>13</sup> *xast*<sup>14</sup> *dūšmēn* who crushed the enemy  
b 5. 'ū-š *kand az būn*<sup>15</sup> ⊙ and him dug from the root ⊙  
       *harvīsp amah* All we  
       *vīgrād*<sup>16</sup> 'īstām<sup>17</sup> awakened shall stand  
       [⊙] *kū pādrōčag*<sup>18</sup> *pad* [⊙] (until) when the requital-  
       day to  
       *la*]mah *bōxsād*<sup>19</sup> [u]s shall (bring) release,

b 10. [čē] *taḥm*<sup>20</sup> *ast* 'ūd      [for] strong is he, and'  
           (next folio missing)      (next folio missing)

# FREER RENDERING OF FRAGMENT S. 8

(a 1-10). 'Teachers, of the Light, are killed for this reason, and the Priests for this reason are mourning. He himself keeps all the kingdoms divided, and himself indeed shines through the sun and moon over the Kingdom.

(b 1-10). (But) there is the armor and spear of the divinity Öhrmīzd (Primal Man), who crushed the enemy and dug him up from the root. All of us shall stand wide-awake for the time when the day of retribution shall bring us release, for strong he is and . . . .'

## NOTES, PHILOLOGICAL AND EXPLANATORY

### Notes on S. 8 recto, a

(1). S. 8 a, o: as to the faded and undecipherable captions see the remarks above (p. 158 bot.) in the introduction to this Fragment.

1. a 1. *ḥ r y b t g*': Thus, with a long dash after *gā*—, to fill space before the last letter [*n*], which happens to be lost through a tear in the leaf. This line is not without some difficulties. The text, *ḥ r y b t g*'—[*n*], looks as if there might be a very slight separation after the first three letters *ḥ r y* (as if it were *ḥ r ē*, 'three'), and Salemann (p. 40 bot.) allows that it might perhaps ('vill.') be possible thus to divide, though I may emphasize that we should still be quite at a loss to explain *b t g*'—[*n*]. Salemann (*loc. cit.*) was therefore justified when he ventured to write all the letters together as one word (p. 6), '*ḥ r ē v a θ a g ā n*,' taking it as an 'unerklärbare nebenform' to Phl. *a ē r p a t* (*h ē r p a t*) because of its parallelism with the following term *ā t a r v a n ā n* ('*ā θ r ō n ā n*'), 'priests.' His Latin rendering (p. 6), 'Pontifices (?) illustres illius causa occisi sunt, et sacerdotes illius causa lamentantur,' is correct in indicating that clerics have been

massacred, but his translation 'Pontifices(?) illustres' does not bring out sufficiently the fact that the characteristic adjective *rōšanān* proves they must have been Manichaeans, nor does he further intimate that their position in the hierarchy can be more fully defined. But he was right in assuming that these held the highest place in the clerical order.

Accepting the connection of *hrēbatagān* with Phl. *aērpat* (*hērpat*), or *ēhrpat* (see following), we may recall that the two latter forms are familiar as derivatives from Av. *āθrapaiti*-, 'master of teaching, master of the (priestly) school,' cf. especially the form BkPhl. *ēhrpat* in Aogemadaēchā, § 59, where that term is explained as *maγūpatān maγūpat*, 'the Mobed of Mobeds.'<sup>1</sup> It is etymologically connected in turn with NP. *hērbad*; consult also the note by Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 20, and cf. M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization* (1922), p. 83, 122, 332, and J. J. Modi, *Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees* (1922), p. 384. It may be remarked, incidentally, that in later times, after the Sasanian period, and also in modern Parsi usage, the title *hērbad*, *ērvad*, 'teacher,' seems to have lost some of its old exalted significance, see Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, p. liv-lv. The second title in our passage (a 4), *ātarvanān* (Salemman, *āθrōnān*) is a direct derivative from Av. *aθaurvan*-, *āθravan*-, and in the Avesta this is the common designation for priests in general (cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 65, and Dhalla, *op. cit.* p. 83, 122, 332). Thus much concerning the etymology of the two words, next as to their interpretation here.

From the remarks in the introduction regarding the attribute *rōšanān*, it is clear that the killing of Manichaean clerics is referred to, and the Zoroastrian titles *hrēbatagān* and *ātarvanān*, by adaptation, are designedly chosen in this connection, which is evidently Sasanian. Manichaeism was peculiarly facile in adapting its terminology to suit the environment, as the answers

<sup>1</sup> See B. N. Dhabar, 'The Pahlavi Text of the Aogemadaēchā,' in *Indo-Iranian Studies in Honour of Dastur D. P. Sanjana*, p. 125, Bombay, 1925; also consult W. Geiger, *Aogemdaēcā, ein Pārsentractat*, p. 26, bot. Erlangen, 1878, where the Pāzand gloss, line 59, has *ērwaḍ*, (*mōwadā-mōwaḍ*). The Skt. rendering of this by Neryosang (*op. cit.* p. 34 top) gives for line 59, *ācāryāḥ*, *ācāryādhipatayaḥ*.



of Faustus, with their Christian coloring, in his disputation with St. Augustine sufficiently show; and we are familiar with the distinctly Persian atmosphere given in S. 9 (*q. v.*), and so often elsewhere, by Mānī's own deliberate choice or adaptation of Zoroastrian terms (cf. also Schaefer (with Reitzenstein), *Studien*, p. 275, and observe also his reference to 'Umstilisierung'). Since, therefore, *hrēbatagān* and *ātarvanān* are manifestly sacerdotal terms of Manichaeism (the Elect and Hearers being here excluded) it remains to determine, if possible, which of the three higher classes in its hierarchical order they may be intended to designate. Omitting, therefore, the Elect proper and the Hearers in the well-known five-fold organization of the Manichaean community (cf. Flügel, p. 95, 294-299, text, complete ed. p. 333), we know from the Fragments and the non-Manichaean sources that the three clerical classes were as follows:

Title	Augustine	Gk. Formula	TPhl. Frag.	Turkish	Chinese	Arab. Fihrist
Teacher (Master)	<i>magister</i>	διδάσκαλος	<i>mōžag</i> (Teacher)	<i>mōžag</i>	<i>mu-shō</i>	<i>mu'allim</i> (Teacher)
Sun-enlightened (Bishop)	<i>episcopus</i>	ἐπίσκοπος	<i>'ispašag</i>	—	—	<i>mušammās</i> (Sun-enlightened)
Presbyter (Elder)	<i>presbyter</i>	πρεσβύτερος	<i>maḥīstag</i>	<i>maxīslag</i>	—	<i>qissīs</i> (Elder)

From what has been stated above concerning Av. *aēθrapaii-*, 'the master of (religious) teaching,' and BkPhl. *hērpat*, *ēhrpat*, 'teacher,' as the 'Mobed of Mobeds,' it seems clear that the TPhl. title *hrēbatagān* refers to those of the highest order in the above list, the religious 'Teachers' par excellence—those spiritual masters who were twelve in number, with a thirteenth selected as their head (see Augustine, *De Haeres.* ch. 46). Any religious persecution would naturally begin by singling out those at the top. The *ātarvanān* (Av. *aθaurvan-*, *āθravan-*) might be either the 'Bishops' or more likely the 'Presbyters' (Elders), who are sorrowing not only for the death of their superiors but doubtless also fearing that their own turn would come next.

2. a 2. *rōšanān*: regarding the connotation of this adjective, as especially Manichaean, see above.

3. a 2-3, 5. 'īm rāz: the same phrase, meaning 'for this reason,' occurs also in S. 9, c 14 (q. v.). Concerning its application in our present passage consult the introductory remarks above.

4. a 3. *kūšt hēnd*: 'are killed, have been massacred'—see the introductory comments. For this familiar verb and BkPhl. *kūštan*, NP. *kuštan*, 'to kill,' see Bartholomae, *Zum Air Wb.* p. 154 bot. Regarding the spelling *kūšt* (with final *t*), and also *sīst* (a 7), *xast* (b 4), we may observe that interchange of *t* and *ṭ* is not uncommon in TPhl. (e.g. 'isṭūn and 'istūn; 'isṭūd, 'istūd; vīnast, vīnast; cf. further, nīsehīst, pasāxt, etc.).

5. a 4. ' 'trv n' n (*ātarvanān*): concerning the employment of this word here consult the note on a 1.

6. a 5. *mōyēnd*: Salemann's transliteration in Hebrew is certainly correct even though the latter part of this word seems slightly blurred. His glossarial entry, p. 43 top, \**mōstan*, 'jammern,' draws attention to the BkPhl. adj. *mōstōmand* in Dēnkart, 9. 4. 7, see D. D. P. Sanjana, vol. 17, p. 7 (text), and p. 7 (transl.), which West (numbering 9. 5. 7) in *SBE.* 37. 178, renders as 'distressed.' We may furthermore recall NP. *mōyīdan*, 'to weep,' and *mōyah* (or *mūyah*), 'weeping, lamenting'; cf. also Horn, *Neupers. Etymologie*, § 997, and Hübschmann, *Pers. Studien*, p. 99. The meaning 'lamentantur' is therefore assured.

7. a 6-7. *vispān šahrān xwad sīst dārē[d]*: 'he himself holds (keeps) all the kingdoms split up (divided).' The reading of the several words in these two lines is clear, including a part of the final *d* in *dārē[d]*, but support must be given for the translation that is offered. As indicated in the introduction, I believe that *vispān šahrān* refers here to the ordinary kingdoms, and not to the 'five aeons.' It remains, therefore, to determine the real significance of the phrase *xwad sīst dārēd*, and especially the explanation of *sīst*. Salemann (p. 6) translates this by 'infirmas(?),' with a question mark, and in his glossarial entry (p. 44 bot.) on *sīst* as 'schwach,' he compares, with a query '?', a BkPhl. word that may be read as *š st* or *sn st*, but adds no reference. His Latin translation of the lines is 'omnes potestates ipse infirmas(?) tenet.'

To suggest an etymological explanation for *sīst* (which is

evidently a pass. ptcpl.) I would propose connecting it with the Av. root *sid-*, *saēd-*, 'to cut, split,' which has as its pass. ptcpl. *°sista-*, 'divided, split up,' cf. Skt. *chid-*, 'to cut off, split,' Gk. *σχιστός*, Lat. *scissus*, and especially the cpd. pass. ptcpl. Phl. *vi-sistak* and infin. NP. *gu-sistan*, cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1547. The implication here as I see it would be that the stigmatized monarch (whoever may be meant) has, perhaps for political reasons in order to suppress unorthodox minorities as against the government, adopted the policy of keeping the smaller kingdoms divided, so that he himself may exercise sway over the entire kingdom (*abar šahr*) as an empire. While we lack sufficient data to prove the correctness of this suggestion, we do know that the Manichaeans were looked upon as antinomians, and we may also believe that they themselves regarded any steps directed against their growing communities as an attempt to keep kingdoms divided against each other for a special purpose.

8. a 8. *pad +xvar*: Salemann, with some hesitation, read *xvad* 'self' in his Hebrew transliteration (p. 7) but *\*xvar* 'sun' in his Roman (p. 6) and translated 'per semet ipsum (solem?) et lunam' although he allowed in his note (p. 7) that one might read *xvar*, but thought that the dot (which differentiates *r* and *d*) stood too low. A careful examination under a magnifying glass shows that the word is actually *xvar*, 'sun,' as the context would lead to expect. The full idea implied in the sentence, '*ūd pad xvar* etc., 'and himself indeed shines through (by) the sun and moon,' is explained in the note below on '*ispēz(ē)d*, a 10.

9. a 9. *māh*—: After this word there is a slightly long mark that looks like —, which I would regard as a space-filler, just as the prolongation in a 1. Salemann, however, took it to be a punctuation-mark ○, but the sense is against that because there is no interruption in the structure of the clause. Two similar instances of a space-filling dash (even between the syllables of a word) appear to be found in another of Salemann's Fragments (p. 16) S. 12, b 19 ([*b]ōxs—ānd*) and b 24, *sab—/*.

10. a 9. *xvad//*: I would suggest supplying the two missing letters (due to a hole in the leaf) by *y č* and to read the word as *xvadīč* or *xvadēč*, 'himself indeed,' 'himself even.' Regarding the form *xvd y č*, see Bartholomae, 'Zur Kenntnis . . . V,' p.

29, 40, in *SbHdAW*. 1923, 3 Abh., p. 29, 40; also consult the remarks above on S. 9 b 13 note.

II. a 10. 's p y z d, 'ispēzd (read 'ispēzēd): Salemann in his Hebrew transcription and glossary p. 45 top gives 'ispēzd, but queries whether it is a verb ('ob vb?') and does not translate, simply referring to his *Manich. Stud.* p. 106, where the word 'ispēz is recorded as occurring twice in Mü. p. 12 top, 47 mid., but is neither time translated. Bartholomae, *ZumAirWb.* p. 80, refers to these two instances of 'ispēz as being of unknown meaning and etymology, but adds a query in a footnote (n. 3) as to whether they might have any connection with BkPhl. *spēzēt* (concerning which verb see a comment below). It is certain that our 'ispēzd is a verb and is probably written defectively for 'ispēzēd, since both the verbs *mōyēnd* and *dārēd* which precede it in this Fragment are in the present tense. There has lately become available some material that may help to clear up the problem of the meaning of 'ispēz(ē)d and of 'ispēz, from which it is derived, although the etymology of the latter word is still obscure.

In 1926, Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, p. 36 mid., noted the meaning of the verb 'ispēzēdan ('ispēzēdon') as 'leuchten,' taking this from an unpublished TPhl. manuscript of Prof. Müller, M. 627, in the SW. dialect. They refer also to a passage in a Fragment which they publish, p. 120 bot., from a Hymn to Jesus, fol. 15 r, 1-2, where occurs the phrase *Yišō* 'ispēxtān, 'Jesus the Illumined' (pl. maj.), rendered by them as 'Jesus Ziwa.' We may therefore regard 'ispēzēdan as a denominative verb with the meaning (1) intrans. 'to shine,' (2) trans. 'to illumine, make clear,' and for the formation and usage as both intransitive and transitive compare Salemann, in *Grundr. iran. Philol.* I. 1. 305 § 96, b.

Furthermore, regarding 'ispēxt, we may add that W. and L., p. 113 bot., give from T. II, D 178, III, verso 5a, 'ūṭ az hēm tō rōšan o 'ispēxt hasēnag o 'And I am thy light, the illumined, primeval' (which W. and L. p. 36, inadvertently inserting a second tō, translate as 'Und ich bin dein Licht, deine uranfängliche Leuchte,' taking 'ispēxt as a noun instead of a pass. ptcl.). Previously, in 1923, I had noted for comparison with 'ispēz, 'ispēz(ē)d, the

word 'ispēxt as a pass. ptcpl. in a TPhl. Fragment, M. 801, line 1, given by Le Coq, *Manichäische Miniaturen* (1923), p. 40 top (with a transliteration, but not translation, by Müller, who, however, transcribes and translates a second page, between which and this page some folios of the book are missing). This Fragment (and I expect to give elsewhere etymological support for my translation) is in praise and felicitation of some ruler on an auspicious day, and begins as follows:

- |                         |                               |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. 'ispēxt ayē pramēn   | 'thou art illumined, a loving |
| 2. pakhīqērb pad nīšān  | counterpart, by the signs     |
| 3. 'i xvarxšēd tō sārār | of the sun, thou ruler        |
| 4. 'i rāstīī hāmdēs     | of rectitude, the likeness    |
| 5. 'i bē Zrvān          | of the divinity Zarvān.'      |

The ascription of such titles to the ruler as counterpart of the sun and the image of God Zarvān, even if only reminiscent, would be wholly in accord with the titles assumed by the Sasanian monarchs in their well-known claims to heavenly descent and to their kingship by divine right, and would harmonize in spirit at least with the claim imputed to the sovereign in our Fragment (a 8-10) that he shone through the sun and moon. Thus the Sasanian Emperor Sapor II (309-379) in a letter to the Roman Emperor Constantius calls himself 'companion of the stars, brother of the sun and moon' (*particeps siderum, frater solis et lunae*) according to the contemporary historian Ammianus Marcellinus, 17. 5. 3. Furthermore Khusrau I, Anōshīrvān (531-579), in a letter to Justinian, cited by the Byzantine historian Menander Protector of the sixth century (*Corpus script. hist. Byz.* part 1, p. 353), boasts to be 'fashioned after the gods' (ὁς ἐκ θεῶν χαρακτηρίζεται), with which compare the TPhl. phrase hāmdēs 'i bē Zrvān, quoted immediately above. In the same tone, Khusrau II (590-628) is quoted by Theophylactus, *Hist.* 4. 8, as calling himself a man immortal among the Gods and a very illustrious God among men, 'rising with the sun and bestowing upon the night its eyes' (ἡλίου συναπατέλλων καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ χαρίζόμενος ὄμματα). For the Byzantine references consult also Christensen, *L'Empire des Sasanides*, p. 88 and n. 4, and Clemen, *Fontes hist. relig. Pers.*

p. 104, 105. These allusions (and they might be multiplied) help us to understand the import of 'ispēz(ē)d in the present passage.

As already indicated, the basic adjective 'ispēz, from which the verb 'ispēzēdan is derived, was previously known through two occurrences in Müller, *Handschriften-reste*, 2. 12 top, 47 mid., and we now can see that it must mean 'shining, luminous, clear.' Taking the latter of these two passages first, namely M. 309 (= M. p. 47), it is certain that 'ispēz šahriyār signifies 'the Shining Ruler' (perhaps Jesus), paralleled with the Mother of the Living. The other occurrence in M. 475 r, 20 (= M. p. 12) is not clear because the text is broken and the decipherment partly uncertain; but judging from the general connection it would seem that hā?m? (read hān?) 'ispēz bavād may signify 'that will be clear.'

Finally, we may return to BkPhl. spēzēt, the word referred to by Bartholomae, as mentioned in the first paragraph of this note. It occurs in a well-known Pahlavi book, Epistles of Manuschihr, 1. 6. 5 (cf. ed. B. N. Dhabar, p. 29, Bombay, 1912), translated for the first time (in 1882) by E. W. West, in *SBE*. 18. 302. West there renders b-xvēšič ēn spēzēt by 'this is set aside even by himself'; it should rather be, 'this is elucidated (illustrated, made clear) even by himself.'

#### Notes on S. 8 verso, b

12. b 1-3. zēn . . . 'ūd nēzag 'īg 'Ōhrmīzd bē: 'The armor (weapon) and spear of the divinity Ohrmīzd' may here be compared with S. 9, a 11-12, zēn 'īg 'Ōhrmīzd xvadāi, 'the weapon of Ohrmīzd the Lord,' the name Ohrmīzd referring both times, as elsewhere in the Turfan Fragments, to Primal Man. The word nēzag (found also in BkPhl.) occurs likewise, among other words for weapons, used symbolically, in S. 7 c 9 (see above, p. 145); it appears furthermore as nēz (a shortened form before an enclitic) in nēzēmān, 'our spear,' in the N. Dial. Hymn, 'Worthy art Thou,' M. 83, 17, W. and L. *Stellung*, p. 117 mid.

13. b 3-5. kē xasī dūšmēn 'ū-š kand az būn: this triumphal deed of Ohrmīzd over the Arch-Enemy in the past refers here, I believe, to that mentioned in the Fihrist (Flügel, p. 89 and notes

118, 119), according to which account Primal Man, after his rescue, descended into the abyss and cut the roots of the five Dark Natures. This combat between Xurmuzta and Shmnu (Primal Man and Ahriman) is more fully described in the Turkish Manichaean Fragment T. Ia (see Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. p. 19-20) where Xurmuzta split the head of the demon Shmnu with an ax and an incredibly long spear. The act of eradicating the five trees of evil is reflected likewise in the Chinese Treatise (*JA.* 1911, p. 536, 560). Thus interpreted, our passage holds out to the afflicted ones the assurance that the looked-for coming of Ohrmizd (Primal Man) at the end of the world, which is impending, will bring the day of retaliation and relief from the oppressor, just as he had overcome the enemy (*dūšmēn*) at the beginning of the second age of the universe. See below, Study IX, p. 266-270.

14. b 4. *xast*: pret. tense of *xastan*, NP. *xastan*, 'to wound,' Av. *xad-*, 'to crush, break,' cf. Skt. *khad-*, 'to chew.' Salemann (*loc. cit.* p. 6) translates by 'vulneravit.'

15. b 5. *'ū-š kand az būn*: lit. 'and dug him (-š refers back to *dūšmēn*) up from the bottom,' i.e. eradicated him fundamentally, cf. note on b 3.

16. b 7. *vīgrād* (or *vīgarād*): pass. ptcpl. of *vīgrādan* (*vīgar°*) 'to be awake,' cf. Av. 1 *gar-*, Bthl. *Altiran. Wb.* 511, and Skt. 3 *gar-*, 'to wake, be awake'; see also Sm. glossary, p. 38, and id. *MStud.* p. 74. The inchoative *vīgrās*, 'awake thou,' occurs in M. 4, b 9 (Mü. p. 53 top), and compare, for its formation, Av. *xšnāsa-* (Bthl. *AirWb.* 559) from 2 *zan-*, 'to know, come to know,' and TPhl. *šarās-ēnād*, 'he caused to flow away,' in S. 9, b 3 (q. v.). The causative form *vīgrānēd* also is found in M. 32 r, 4 (Mü. p. 62 bot.), and the ptcpl. adj. *vīgrādag*, 'watchful' (applied to Jesus) in M. 369 v, lines 1, 10 (W. and L. *Stellung*, p. 118 bot.). The meaning in our passage is, 'we shall all be expectant,' 'let all of us be wide-awake,' watching for the appointed time.

17. b 7. *'isām*: subjunct. from the common verb *'isādan*, Sm. *MSt.* p. 106. Consult the preceding note, end.

18. b 8. *pādrōčag*: Salemann (p. 46, glossary) remarks that this appears to be one word and doubtfully suggests 'tag für tag'

as its meaning. But a simple explanation for it is not difficult to propose. This is to regard *pādrōčag* as meaning lit. 'counter-day' i.e. 'day of requital' or 'day of retaliation.' The prefixed *pād-* would be a 'vriddhied' form as in TPhl. *pād(i)xšnōhr* (S. 9, c 23), which word signifies 'gratification in return, recompense, reward.' For similar 'vriddhied' forms in Avestan cf. Bthl. *Altiran. Wb.* 887, *pāitivāka-*, 'answer,' et al.; similarly *op. cit.* 890, *pāiri*, 'around,' and *pāirivāza-*, 'running around.' The meaning and formation of *pādrōčag* thus becomes clear.

19. **b 8-9.** *pad [a]mah bōxsād* (or *būxsād*): the use of *pad* here seems unusual, but the sense appears to be, 'the day of requital shall bring (?) release to us.' Salemann's Latin translation (p. 6) indicates some wavering when he gives, 'quo in diem per nos (pro nobis?) salvet.' My colleague and fellow-worker Dr. Charles J. Ogden suggests as a possible alternate for consideration, to take *bōxsād* as intransitive or quasi-passive and to render: 'the day of retaliation shall be released unto us.' Further thought should be given to this suggestion. . . . To turn now to the verb *bōxsād* (*būxsād*) and its formation. By derivation it is cognate with Av. *buǰ-*, *baof-*, 'to loosen, release,' BkPhl. *bōxtan*, and there are a half dozen and more instances of verb forms from TPhl. *bōxtan*, 'to free, release,' including subjunct. 1 sg. *bōž-ān*, and possibly *bōž-ānd* (see Sm. *MSt.* p. 60 bot., and his glossary to *Manichaica* III-IV, p. 37 top). Our form *bōxsād* is an inchoative, 3 sg. subj., and is paralleled in the Salemann Fragments (see glos. p. 37) by two other inchoative subjunctives, *bōxsān*, 1 sg. subj. in S. 34. a 3, and [*b*] *ōxsānd*, 3 pl. subj. in S. 12, b 19; cf. also *boxsān* in W. and L., *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 113 top (1 a). For a list of Avestan inchoatives in *-sa-*, see Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1907 (14a).

20. **b 10 (11).** *ṭahm asṭ*: the lacuna I would fill by the word *čē*, 'for, because,' i.e. 'since he is strong.' The subject seems best to be taken as referring back to 'Ohrmīzd', but the loss of the next folio leaves the matter a little uncertain.

August, 1929



PART III  
TWO ANTI-MANICHAEAN CHAPTERS  
IN BOOK-PAHLAVI WORKS  
TRANSLATED WITH TEXT  
AND NOTES

## STUDY VI

### MĀNĪ'S TEACHINGS ACCORDING TO THE (PAHLAVI) PĀZAND BOOK SHIKAND-GŪMĀNĪG VIZHĀR (ŠKAND-VIMĀNĪK VIČĀR)

(Latter part of the 9th century A.D.)

(Entirely revised translation, based on West, *SBE.* 24. 243-246, and his edition of the Pāzand text, recorded below; compare likewise a revised German translation by the Russian scholar Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück Manichaeischen Schrifttums*, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. 18-20. A transliteration of the Pāzand text itself, from West's edition in the original characters, will be found below, facing the translation (p. 176-181), and full notes are appended (p. 181-201).—A. V. W. J.)

There is extant in Pahlavi literature an important controversial work entitled *Shikand-Gūmānīg Vizhār* (or *Škand-Vimānīk Vičār*), lit. 'Doubt-dispelling Explanation,' which was written (probably in the latter part of the ninth century A.D.) by Martān-farūkh, the son of Ōhrmazd-dāt. The author, who supports the Zoroastrian doctrine of the independent origin of good and evil, seeks to refute, among other religious systems, certain heretical views held by Mānī. The expository portion of his special chapter on Manichaeism (chapter 16, § 1-52) has alone been translated here, the succeeding portion which is devoted to refutation (§ 53-111) has been omitted because it contains little that is needed for our present purpose and is available, if desired, in the translations by West and by Salemann referred to in the heading above.

The original Pahlavi text of the Shikand has not yet been discovered, but we have the Pāzand-Sanskrit version of it made by Neryosang, son of Dhaval, in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D., upon which the present rendering is

based. This chapter is not found among the Pahlavi fragments that exist in a few later manuscripts, which are evidently derived from the Pāzand (see West, in *GIRPh.* 2. 106-107). All of the extant manuscripts of the Shikand break off abruptly at ch. 16 § 111, before the refutation in this chapter and the treatise itself are completed. The occurrence of so many technical Manichaean terms and forms of expression in the chapter would appear to indicate that the missing Pahlavi text must frequently have been paraphrasing actual Manichaean documents, just as did Theodore bar Khoni, to whose account (cf. Study VIII) several references are made in the notes below.

The transliteration of the text, here given, has been made directly from the Pāzand (compared with the Sanskrit version) in the edition by Jāmāsp-Āsānā and West, Bombay, 1887. The text of the Sanskrit version printed later by Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha, *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis, Part IV, Skanda-Gumānī-Gujāra*, Bombay, 1913, which is practically the same as that of West's edition, has been duly consulted throughout, since constant attention has been paid to Neryosang's Sanskrit rendering.

As an aid in interpretation, the known Pahlavi words have sometimes been inserted in parentheses after the Pāzand forms with the sign of equality (= Phl. --). Salemann, *op. cit.*, has retranscribed the text of this chapter back from the Pāzand into its presumable Pahlavi shape.

(See next page for a transliteration and translation of the Pāzand text.)

## PĀZAND TEXT transliterated

(ShGV. 16. 1-52, ed. E. W. West, *Shikand-Gūmānīk Vijār*, Bombay, 1887, p. 167-172.)

(§ 1) *Dit*<sup>1</sup> *niwēsihət awar ērañg*<sup>2</sup> *i Mānāē əž hazārā baēwarā yak*, (2) *či ērañg u drāišni*<sup>3</sup> *u frēw i Mānāē u Mānāēigā pa buñdatar*<sup>4</sup> *nawaštan anatū*<sup>5</sup> *hom*, (3) *vaēm* (= *v-am*) *rañf i vas u rōžgār i dērañg añdar āwāyat*.

(§ 4) *nuñ ē dānēt Mahēst* (= Phl. *Mazdayasn*)<sup>6</sup> *i Zarabušť ku bun-gawəšni*<sup>6</sup> *i Mānāē awar akanāraī* (= Phl. *akanārakīh*)<sup>6a</sup> *i bunyaštagā*,<sup>7</sup> (5) *u myān awar guməžašni*, (6) *u faržām awar vazārašni* (= *vižārišn*) *i rōšan əž tār*—(7) *ā i ō avazārdārī* (= *avižārtārīh*) *vas mānātar*.

(§ 8) *dit iñ ku gəθī*<sup>8</sup> *tani-kardī i Āharman xāmast*,<sup>9</sup>—(9) *tani-kardī dahišni i Āharman*. (10) *vaš dugā*<sup>10</sup> (= *dūkān*) *iñ ku āsmān əž pōst*,<sup>11</sup> (11) *u zamī əž gōšt*, (12) *u kōh əž ast*, (13) *u urvar əž vars i Kunī* (= *Kündī*)<sup>11</sup> *dēw*. (14) *vārā šuθur*<sup>12</sup> (= *šusr*) *i Māzañdarā*<sup>12</sup> *i pa spihir bast əstəñd*, (15) *u mardum dēw i du-pāē u gōspəñd i čihār-pāē*. (16) *u Kunī spāhsalār i Āharman*, (17) *kəš pa nāxun*<sup>13</sup> *fradīm ardī rōšanī əž Hörməzd baγ rēwudan*<sup>13</sup> (= *\*rūwūtō*) *hupārd*<sup>13</sup> (= *ōwārt*); (18) *va-šā*<sup>13a</sup> *pa dadum ardī Kunī dēw awā vasā dēwā grift*, (19) *u hast*<sup>14</sup> *i pa spihir bastan*<sup>14</sup> (= *bastō*); *Kunī dēw awazat* (= *ōzat*), (20) *iñ dām i guzurg*<sup>15</sup> (= *vazūrg*) *až aš dāšt u kard*.<sup>15</sup>

## LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE PĀZAND TEXT

(New translation on the basis of West, *SBE.* 24. 243-246;  
cf. also Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 18-20.)

(§ 1) Furthermore,<sup>1</sup> is (here) written about the heresy <sup>2</sup> of Mānī one (thing only) of a thousand (and) ten thousand, (2) for I am unable <sup>5</sup> to write in a more fundamental way <sup>4</sup> of the heresy, prating,<sup>3</sup> and deceit of Mānī and the Mani-chaeans, (3) and much trouble and long daily work would be necessary for me therein.

(§ 4) Now you Mazda-worshippers of Zarathusht should know <sup>6</sup> [a] that the original (lit. foundation-) statement <sup>6a</sup> of Mānī (was) about the unlimitedness of the original principles (lit. foundation-creations) <sup>7</sup> (5) and [b] the intermediate one about (their) mingling, (6) and [c] the final one about the separation of the light from the darkness —(7) that which is much more like a non-separation.

(§ 8) Furthermore, (he states) this, that the world <sup>8</sup> is a bodily (lit. embodied) formation of Ahriman altogether (?) <sup>9</sup>—(9) bodily formation (is itself) a creation of Ahriman. (10) And a counterpart <sup>10</sup> (of that statement) is this, that the sky is from the skin,<sup>11</sup> (11) the earth from the flesh, (12) the mountains from the bones, (13) and the plants from the hair of the demon Kunī (Kund).<sup>11</sup> (14) The rain is the seed <sup>12</sup> of the Māzandarāns <sup>12</sup> (i.e. demons) who are bound on the firmament, (15) and mankind are two-legged demons, and animals four-legged. (16) And Kunī is the commander of the army of Ahriman (17) who, (in) the first conflict, swallowed <sup>13</sup> the light robbed <sup>13</sup> from the god Ormazd by his nails<sup>13</sup>; (18) and in the second conflict the demon Kunī, with many demons, was captured by them,<sup>13a</sup> (19) and some <sup>14</sup> of these (were) bound <sup>14</sup> to the firmament; the demon Kunī was slain; (20) from him this Great Creation <sup>15</sup> was maintained and made.<sup>15</sup>

(§ 21) *u x<sup>o</sup>aršēt mäh bēruñ<sup>16</sup> āsmān pa bālist vīnārd;*<sup>17</sup> (22) *ku aṇdā ā rōšanī i dēwā hupārd (= ōwārt) aṇdak aṇdak pa aharāmišni<sup>18</sup> u pālāišni i x<sup>o</sup>aršēt u mäh pālāiñd u aharāminēnd.* (23) *pas Āharman pēš-vīnāihā<sup>19</sup> (= pēš-vēnākihā) dānast ku iñ rōšanī pa x<sup>o</sup>aršēt u mäh aharāmišni zūt pālēñd u vazārinēñd (= vižārēnēnd).* (24) *zūt nō vazārašni (= vižārišn) i rōšan əž tār rā (= rāi) iñ gēhā i kōdak<sup>20</sup> i, čuñ mardum u gōspēñd awarē jānavar, ham-pačīn<sup>21</sup> aṅgōšīdaa<sup>21</sup> i gēhā i guzurg<sup>22</sup> (= vazūrg), awā awarē tani-kardī dahišni<sup>23</sup> vīrāst.* (25) *jā u rōšanī aṇdar tan bast u ziñdānī<sup>24</sup> kard,* (26) *ku aṇdā ā rōšanī i pa x<sup>o</sup>aršēt u mäh aharāmiḥət dīt pa maržašni u zāišni<sup>25</sup> i jānavarā pādīrāniḥət,<sup>26</sup>* (27) *[u] vazārašni (vižāršni) dērañgtar bāt.*

(§ 28) *u vārā šuθur<sup>27</sup> i Māzañdarā būt* (29) *pa ā čim ka<sup>28</sup> Māzañdarā i pa spihir bast əstēñd,* (30) *kəšā<sup>29</sup> rōšanī hupārd<sup>29</sup> (= ōwārt),* (31) *u<sup>30</sup> (? omit) pa nō āiñ<sup>31</sup> u viāmānī (= vūhmānīh ?) u kērōi<sup>32</sup> i Zurvānī,<sup>33</sup> rōšanī<sup>33</sup> až-ašā vazardan (= vižartan) rā Dvāzdahā X<sup>o</sup>arīgā Duxtarā<sup>34</sup> i Zurvān aṇdēmān<sup>35</sup> (= handēmān) Māzañdarā i nar vīninēñd (= vēnēnēnd),<sup>34</sup>* (32) *ku aṇdā<sup>36</sup> ā<sup>37</sup> Māzañdarā əž dīdan i əšā varun ašā<sup>37</sup> hūsažihət<sup>37</sup> (= angēžihēt)* (33) *u šuθur až-ašā vazāriḥət (= vižārīhēt).* (34) *ā rōšanī<sup>38</sup> i aṇdar šuθur ō zamī rēvihət<sup>38</sup> (= rēžihēt);* (35) *urvarā draxtā zōrdāzā<sup>39</sup> (= fōrtākān) až-ašā<sup>40</sup> rōvihət (= rōdihēt);* (36) *u rōšanī i aṇdar Māzañdarā pa šuθur<sup>41</sup> vazāriḥət (= vižārīhēt),* (37) *ā i aṇdar zamī pa vahān<sup>42</sup> i urvarā<sup>42</sup> əž zamī vazāriḥət (= vižārīhēt).*

(§ 21) And the sun (and) moon were arranged <sup>17</sup> outside <sup>16</sup> the sky, in the highest; (22) so that, little by little, through the leading up <sup>18</sup> (lit. onward) and purification of (= by) the sun and the moon, (these) purify and lead up (lit. onward) that light which the demons swallowed. (23) Afterwards Ahriman, through foresight,<sup>19</sup> knew that they (would) quickly purify and separate this light through the leading up (i.e. attraction) by (lit. of) the sun and the moon. (24) For the purpose of not (allowing) the separation quickly of the light from the darkness, he arranged this Little World <sup>20</sup> which, like mankind and cattle (and) other living creatures, is a wholly-copied <sup>21</sup> replica <sup>21</sup> of the Great World,<sup>22</sup> with the other embodied creation.<sup>23</sup> (25) Life and light he made bound and imprisoned <sup>24</sup> in the body, (26) so that that light which is being led up (lit. onward) by the sun and the moon shall again be forced back <sup>26</sup> through the copulation and birth <sup>25</sup> of living creatures, (27) (and) the separation (thus) shall become more slow.

(§ 28) And the rain was the seed <sup>27</sup> of the Māzandarāns (i.e. demons) (29) for the reason that when <sup>28</sup> the Māzandarāns were (lit. are) fastened to the firmament—(30) (they) who <sup>29</sup> had swallowed <sup>29</sup> the light—(31) <sup>30</sup> in order to separate the light <sup>33</sup> from them, by a new dispensation,<sup>31</sup> discrimination, and diversification <sup>32</sup> of Zarvān <sup>33</sup> [adj. *Zurvānī*], they show <sup>34</sup> the Twelve <sup>33</sup> Glorious (Ones), Daughters <sup>34</sup> of Zarvān, before <sup>35</sup> the male Māzandarāns; (32) so that <sup>36</sup> the lust of those <sup>37</sup> Māzandarāns is aroused by the sight of these (33) and seed is separated (i.e. discharged) <sup>37</sup> from them.<sup>37</sup> (34) That light <sup>38</sup> which is within the seed is poured <sup>38</sup> upon the earth; (35) plants, trees, (and) grain <sup>39</sup> are grown <sup>38</sup> therefrom; <sup>40</sup> (36) and (thus) the light which is within the Māzandarāns is separated through the seed,<sup>41</sup> (37) (while) that which is within the earth is separated from the earth by means <sup>42</sup> of the plants.<sup>42</sup>

(§ 38) *dit awar jat* (= *jut*)-*gōharī i jā u tan īñ ku jā añdar tan bast u ziñdānī* [*kard*].<sup>43</sup> (39) *čuñ dādār u dāštār*<sup>44</sup> *i vīsp astimañdā* (= *astōmandān*) *tani-kardā Āharman hast*, (40) *ham ėim rā* (= *rāī*) *nē sažət zāišni kardan*<sup>45</sup> *paēwañd* (= *patvand*) *rāinīdan*<sup>46</sup> (= *rāyēnītan*)—(41) *ēi ham-ayār*<sup>47</sup> *awā Āharman hast pa dāštārī i mardum u gōspəñd u pādīrā-kardārī*<sup>48</sup> *i jā u rōšanī añdar tanā*;—*nēiča* (= *nē-ič*) *kištan*<sup>49</sup> (= *kēštan*) *i urvarā u zōrdāēā* (= *jōrtākān*).

(§ 42) *dit añbasānihā*<sup>50</sup> *īñča* (= *īn-ič*) *gōēñd* (= *govēnd*) (43) *ku marōčīnīdār i dām ham*<sup>51</sup> *Āharman hast*, (44) *ham ėim rā* (= *rāī*) *nē sažət hēči* (= *'ē-ič*) *dām awazadan*<sup>52</sup> (= *ōzatan*), (45) *ēi Āharman-kunišnī hast*.

(§ 46) *dit*<sup>53</sup> *īñ ku čuñ gāhā Āharman dāšt faržām pārōž*<sup>54</sup> *Yazat hast*<sup>55</sup> (47) *pa vazārdārī* (= *vižārtārīh*) *i jānā əž tanā*. (48) *īñ gəθī pa awadīm* (= *awadum*) *vašō-wihət*<sup>55</sup> (= *višōwīhēt*), (49) *nō nē ārāihət*,<sup>55</sup> (50) *nē bahōt* (= *bavēt*) *rīst vīrāstārī*<sup>55</sup> *tan i pasīn*.<sup>55</sup>

(§ 51) *dit īñ ku ā du bunyaštaa*<sup>56</sup> (= *būndātak*) *hamā-ihā*<sup>56</sup> *əstəšni ham-vīmañdihā*<sup>57</sup> *arwā būt čuñ aftāw*<sup>58</sup> *u āsāēaa* (= *āsāyak*), (52) *vašā* (= *va-šān*) *nē būt hēči* (= *'ē-ič*) *nišāmī*<sup>59</sup> *u vašādaī*<sup>60</sup> (= *višātakīh*) *myān*.

[The remaining sections (§ 53–III) are devoted to a refutation in a general sort of way, compare the preceding statements (p. 174), but the argument is broken off unfinished, because the manuscript is incomplete. The text is consequently not transliterated here, nor is a translation given.]



(§ 38) Furthermore, about the difference of nature of life (= soul) and body (he states) this, that life (= soul) is bound and imprisoned<sup>43</sup> within the body. (39) Since (according to Mānī) the creator and maintainer<sup>44</sup> of all material beings that have bodily forms is Ahriman, (40) for the same reason it is not proper to occasion birth<sup>45</sup> (and) arrange for posterity,<sup>46</sup> (41) because (he who does so) is a co-worker<sup>47</sup> with Ahriman through the maintaining of mankind and cattle and the forcing back<sup>48</sup> of life and light into (lit. within) bodies;—nor even to cultivate<sup>49</sup> plants and grain.

(§ 42) Furthermore, they inconsistently<sup>50</sup> say also this, (43) that the destroyer of creatures is likewise<sup>51</sup> Ahriman; (44) (and) for the same reason it is not proper to kill<sup>52</sup> any creature whatsoever, (45) because it (i.e. killing) is the work of Ahriman.

(§ 46) Furthermore,<sup>53</sup> (they say) this, that, whereas Ahriman maintained the world, God is (nevertheless) finally triumphant<sup>54</sup> (47) through the separation of lives (= souls) from bodies. (48) This world will be destroyed<sup>55</sup> in the end; (49) a new (one) will not be arranged,<sup>55</sup> (50) nor will there be a restoration<sup>55</sup> of the dead (and) a body hereafter.<sup>55</sup>

(§ 51) Furthermore, (they say) this, that the state of those two original creations<sup>56</sup> existed altogether<sup>56</sup> contiguously<sup>57</sup> just as sunshine<sup>58</sup> and shadow, (52) and not any demarcation (?)<sup>59</sup> and void<sup>60</sup> existed between them.

[For the reasons stated on the opposite page, the remaining sections (§ 53–III) are not translated here.]

---

#### NOTES ON SHIKAND-GŪMĀNĪG VIZHĀR 16. 1–52

1 (§ 1). *dit*: regarding this Pāzand word see Bartholomae, *WZKM.* 25. 245–251; 27. 22–23.—2 (§ 1). *ṛaṇṅ*: for convenience, this word, condemnatory of false teaching, has been

translated here and immediately below, in SVV. 10. 58, by 'heresy'; Ner. Skt. (cf. West, *ShGV*. vocab. p. 243, 264) has *aśuddhi*, 'impurity,' here, and uses *aśuddha*, 'impure' also elsewhere, but at times he employs the adj. *ajaya*, 'unconquerable,' and the subst. *ajayatva*, the former of which is found in Sanskrit as an epithet of Māyā, or Illusion; West renders *ēraṅg* by 'delusion'; Salemann chooses 'irrlere.' For a discussion of its cognates, BkPhl. '*ēraxt*, *ērangūh* ("Betrug"), *ēranjēnišn*,' see Bartholomae, *Ueber ein Sasan. Rechtsbuch* (1910), p. 20, 23-25, who sees in the presumable verb, from which these forms are derived, the idea of convicting of guilt, and would render the pass. ptcpl. *ēraxt* as 'überführt, für schuldig erklärt, verdammt; schuldig; schuldbeladen, verworfen.' Somewhat earlier (1904) Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 25, who translated our noun as 'irrlere,' sought to connect it with NP. *ārang*, 'color,' which has among its various meanings that also of 'craft, deceit, stratagem,' see Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.* p. 39 B. We may add that in an earlier chapter of our present work (chap. 10. 58-60, text ed. West, p. 73, transl. *SBE*. 24. 170) the same words, *ēraṅg*, 'heresy,' and *frēw*, 'deceit,' occur in a short polemical passage against Mānī (*Mānāē*). The Zoroastrian controversialist, well versed in the pious works relating to his own religion, thankfully says that through these: (§ 58) 'I am freed from the manifold doubt, heresy (*ēraṅg*), deceit (*frēw*) and defilement (*dōšē*) of the sects (*kēšā*), (59) and particularly from those (*ā*) of the greatest (*māhtar*, lit. "more than great") of deceivers, the mightiest, most evil-teaching one, the empty-skulled Mānī (*Mānāē*), (60) whose doctrine (*kēš*) is sorcery and (his) religion deceit (*frēftārē*), and (whose) teaching is defilement and his cloak (*brahm*) secret proceedings.' In rendering this passage I may remark that I have taken the name *Mānāē* ('Mānī') as a singular, just as twice in chap. 16. 1-2, where it occurs in contradistinction to the plural *Mānāēīgā*, thus differing from West in our passage (ch. 10. 59) who inadvertently translates *Mānāē* as 'Manichaeans.' My rendering of *brahm nihārawēšnē* as '(his) cover is secret procedure,' i.e. under cover of secret proceedings, is new and requires a word of explanation. West translated it as 'intricate secret proceedings.' The word *brahm*, however, is now well

known in BkPhl., and especially in Turfan Phl. *brahm*, as meaning 'dress, covering, robe, raiment, garb.' Neryosang rightly renders this by *veša* meaning similarly 'apparel, garb, guise.' Undoubtedly there is an allusion here to times when Manichaeism, either proscribed or working clandestinely, proceeded under cover or adopted various guises to make converts to the religion of the Apostle of Light.—3 (§ 2). *drāišni*: for the force of this abstract (= BkPhl. *drāyišn*) see the remarks below on *drāyist*, Dk. 3. 200. 1, n. 6. In TPhl. also, both *drāyišn* and *drāyist* are found at M. 97 d 5, 8 (= Mū. *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1080).—4 (§ 2). *buñdatar*: for a presumable Phl. *būn-dāt-tar*, cf. the remarks below, p. 214, on Dk. 3. 200. 8, n. 2; West takes *pa buñdatar nawnštan* (= *niwištan*) together, 'as to writing more fully.'—5 (§ 3). *anātū*: Phl. *anātūk*, Ner. Skt. *aśakta*.

6 (§ 4-7). *nuñ ē dānēt Mahēst* (= *Mazdayasn*) *i Zaratuš*: Neryosang's Skt. version gives *nanu jānīyāta Mājdaśasnāh Jarathustrīyāh yat* etc., 'now ye should know, ye worshipers of Mazdāh, followers of Zarathushtra, that etc.' This conveys the general sense correctly and has been followed so far as the verb (opt. = Pāz. imper.) is concerned. A more literal translation of the Pāzand text itself would be: 'now know ye this—(ye each) a Mazda-worshiper of Zarathusht.'—6a *bun-gawəšni . . . akanāraī* etc.: the compound *bun-gawəšni*, lit. 'foundation-word,' is practically equivalent to 'statement about the original' principles and their status during the three great periods from beginningless time to eternity. These three postulates represent correctly Mānī's doctrine of (1) the unlimitedness of the original principles of light and darkness, (2) their intermingling, and (3) their ultimate separation, thus answering respectively to the primal, intermediate, and final states of the universe. Kindred allusions in Manichaean literature are familiar and include the 'three times' (*üč öd*) of the Turkish Manichaean Confession Prayer, *Khuastuanift* (= *X'āstavānēft*, 'own (or good)-confession,' ll. 158-159), the 'three moments (or times)' of the Chinese Manichaean book entitled the *San tsi king*, and St. Augustine's 'initium, medium, et finem'—for references to the two latter see Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*. 1911, p. 502, n. 3; compare furthermore *JA*. 1913, p. 114-115, 123, 133-144, 191, 335.—7 (§ 4). *bunyašttagā*:

equivalent to a Phl. *būndātagān*, regarding which latter form see the references below, p. 214, on Dk. 3. 200. 8, n. 2, in Study VII.

8 (§ 8). *gēθē tani-kardē i Āharman*: the word *gēθē* (= BkPhl. *gēlī*, see below, p. 214, on Dk. 3. 200. 8, n. 1) is the usual designation of the corporeal or material world; Ner. has here *prīhvī šarīrakrtlā Āharmanādīnām*, 'the earth (is) a bodily formation of Ahriman and so forth (= and others)'; furthermore, regarding the creation by Ahriman cf. also below, §§ 24, 39, 46. The statement here made by the author of the Shikand in regard to Mānī's views is to be understood as referring particularly to the grosser elements of the dark material world (cf. also Flügel, *Mani*, p. 223, n. 125 last paragraph, and p. 88–89), and in that respect it accords generally with the statement of Theodore bar Khoni (see French tr., Pognon, p. 183 bot.) that 'he (i.e. Mānī) says that bodies came from the Evil Principle; he denies the resurrection; and about the world he teaches that one part of it came from God and the other from matter.' The latter point is further implied in Theodore's later allusion to the eight material earths as being produced (though in that case largely through the agency of the Living Spirit) from the Archontes, whose bodies were 'thrown upon the earth of darkness' (see below, p. 234; Pognon, p. 188; Cumont, p. 25–27). In a somewhat similar way may be compared the statement in the Chinese Manichaean treatise (c. 900 A.D.) found in the grottoes of Tun-huang, Kan-su, which says: 'The Envoy of Light, called Tsing-fong (Pure Wind, i.e. Living Spirit), constructed the ten heavens and the eight earths of the universe by means of the five kinds of demons and the five luminous bodies and by a combination of their two forces'—see tr. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*. 1911, p. 514–515, 526 n. 2. As for the human body itself, Manichaeism regards its creation as wholly of evil origin; for example see St. Ephraim, *Refutations*, tr. Mitchell, p. xxxi (cf. xxxii): 'if he who frameth the body is evil,' etc.; '. . . if this making of the body really belongs to him (i.e. the Evil One),' cf. also tr. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 273, lines 20–21, 32–33.

9 (§ 8). *xāmast*: see the comments below (Study VII) on Dk. 3. 200. 7 n. 5. Bartholomae, *Zum sas. Recht*, 3. p. 39, differing from Neryosang, West, and Salemann, changes the punctuation

of the text by attaching *xāmast* (*hamist*) to the following clause; he translates, 'die Stoffwelt ist Leibgestaltung des *Ahrman*; alles leibgestaltige ist Schöpfung des *Ahrman*.'—10 (§ 10). *dugā*: Phl. *dūkān*, hence 'duplicate'; cf. NP. *dūgān*, 'in twos, double' (Steingass, *Persian-English Dict.* p. 546, also p. 1072 for the NP. suffix *-gān*, *-gānah* after numerals). Ner. Skt. renders by *vyakti*, 'manifestation,' elsewhere also by *vitirṇa*, 'elaboration'; West translates by 'a repetition,' Salemann by 'ein seitenstück.' I prefer 'duplicate, counterpart.'

11 (§ 10-13). *āsmān aš pōst* . . . *Kunī dēw*: concerning the demon Kunī (Kund) or Kündag see also the comments below on Dk. 3. 200. 8 n. 4. This colossal monster is evidently alluded to (though not by name) in a Turkish Manichaean Fragment (see Le Coq, *Türk. Manich. aus Chotscho*, 3. p. 8) as a titanic figure whose head is pressed down by mountains in the east, his lower body in the western lands, his shoulders in the north and south, and his middle by Mount Sumeru (*Smir*). The Manichaean legend of the construction of the sky and earth from the bodies of the flayed demons is well known. See for example St. Ephraim, *Refutations*, tr. Mitchell, 1. p. xxxiii: 'When the Primal Man, he (i.e. Mānī) says, hunted the Sons of Darkness, he flayed them and made this sky from their skins, and out of their excrement he compacted the earth, and some of their bones, too, he melted, and raised and piled up the mountains' (cf. also tr. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 279 bot.). Again, compare St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 20. 9 (p. 545, 26, Zycha; Cumont, *Cosmogonie*, p. 27 n. 2): 'Spiritus Potentem de captivis corporibus . . . mundum fabricantem'; recall, moreover, the account by Theodore bar Khoni (tr. below, p. 233 f.), who records that, after the Living Spirit had caused the Archons to be killed and flayed and delivered over to the Mother of Life, 'the Mother of the Living overspread the heaven with their skins and made eleven (read ten) heavens and they threw their bodies to the Earth of Darkness.' The Eastern Church Father Joannes Damascenus (d. before 754), in his Greek *Dialogue against the Manichaeans*, 29 (Migne, *PG.* 94, col. 1553 B) applies this idea to the forming of men (!) as well as mountains: 'Having seized the Archontes of Wickedness, he (the Good One), crucified them, and

from their (? reading *avṛāv* instead of *avroū*) flesh made men (*sic*) and from their (?) bones the mountains.' Recall, moreover, that the Greek Formula of Abjuration (cf. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 361, 401) repudiates such fables of creation as 'the skins, sinews, bodies, and sweat of the wicked Archontes.' This parallelism between the parts of the cosmos and those of the human body may be an old Iranian idea, as is indicated by its occurrence in a passage of the great Iranian Bundahishn (ed. T. D. Anklesaria, p. 189, lines 8-11, Bombay, 1908; translated by E. Blochet, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (1895), 31. 242) in which the human body is likened to the world: 'the skin is like the heaven, the flesh is like the earth, the bones are like the mountains . . . the hair is like the plants,' etc. (Later consult also A. Goetze, in *Zt. f. Indolog. u. Iranistik* (1923) 2. 60-98, who argues (p. 76 f., 85 f.) that this conception dates back to the time of the lost Avestan Dāmdāt Nask, or at least the fifth century B.C.).

12 (§ 14). *šuthur i māzandarā i pa spīhir bast astānēd*: the word *šuthur* is the equivalent of Phl. *šusr*, Av. *xšudra-*, 'semen' (Bthl. *AirWb.* 555); similarly Ner. Skt. has *vīrya*, 'virility, vital principle'; in similar allusions to the myth the Greek and Latin writers (euphemistically) employ 'sweat' (e.g. Greek Formula of Abjuration, cited above, n. 11; Orosius, *Commonitorium*, chap. 2, ed. by Schepss, p. 154. 14, *commotus consudet et pluviam faciat*, cited by Cumont, *Cosmogonie Man.* p. 55 n.); the myth is given in detail below, § 32-33.—The demons of Māzandarān (Av. *Māzainya daēva*) are notorious from early Zoroastrian times down to Firdausi's *Shāh-nāmah*; the legend of the binding of the demons, or Archontes, is well known in Manichaeism and is alluded to likewise in the Turfan Fragments, e.g. M. 98 a 1-2 (= Mū. 2. p. 37 bot.). Cf. above, Study II notes 2 and 3; also Study XII, below.

13 (§ 17). *pa nāxun fradim ardī . . . rēwudan hupārd*: this passage is in some respects difficult, particularly because of *rēwudan* (v. l. *rēwidan*), but the context clearly shows that there is an allusion to the swallowing (cf. *hupārd* = *ōwārt*) of the divine light robbed by the powers of darkness (here represented by Kūnī) in the first of the two battles waged against Primal Man, Ormazd, in Manichaeism.

Neryosang's Sanskrit version of the passage gives: *yo nakhaiḥ praihamam saṃgrāme rocisaṃ Hormijdāt Dātuḥ avālikhya* (gerund) *agilat*, 'who [i.e. Kunī] at the outset in the encounter, having scratched out by his nails the light from Ormazd the Creator, swallowed (it).'

It seems certain that Pāz. *rēwudan* is here to be etymologically connected directly with NP. *rubūdan*, 'to rob, seize, plunder' (a suggestion for which I have to thank my assistant, the late Dr. Yohannan), and that the form is a misreading for Phl. \**rūvūtō* or *rūbūtō*, being a passive participle like NP. *rubūdah*. Such a mistake in reading the final character -ō in Pahlavi as Pāzand -an is easily understood (see also below, note 14 on § 19), and for the phonetic changes involved in *w*, *v*, *b* see Hübschmann, *Pers. Ety.* p. 166. This simple explanation, moreover, would dispose of the query by West (ed. *Shikand*, vocab. p. 265), 'rewudan for rewidan?, . . . to be liberated,' regarding which rendering, as uncertain, he adds a footnote, 'perhaps Ner. read *rešidan*, with the meaning "to bruise, tear, scratch."' It would equally do away with Salemann's doubtful emendation of the Pāz. text into Phl. as *pa vahān* (instead of *nāxun*) . . . *aš Ōhrmizd bag tar* (*raḫētō*, i.e. *raftō*). Consequently, the proposed suggestion that the light was torn out by the demon's nails (cf. Ner.), before being swallowed, would solve all difficulties.

The 'swallowing' (cf. also § 30) of the light of Primal Man (i.e. Ormazd, always, as in S. 9 a, 31 and S. 8 b, 3, p. 100, 170) is well known through other sources. See, for example, note on S. 9 a, 13, above, p. 94; cf. likewise an-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (tr. Flügel, p. 88; Kessler, p. 389, 388); compare also Theodore bar Khoni (tr. below, p. 226; Pognon, p. 186; Cumont, p. 18); likewise St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 13. 18 (p. 400, line 3), 'lucem a tenebris devorata'; again, Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, ch. 7, ed. Beeson, p. 10, lines 9-10, ἀρχοντες . . . ἐφαγον κ.τ.λ.; Titus of Bostra, 1. 19, p. 11 (= p. 13, line 35 de Lagarde; cf. Flügel, p. 196; Cumont, *Recherches sur le manichéisme*, 1. p. 18 n. 4); and see especially St. Ephraim, *Refutations*, tr. C. W. Mitchell, 1. p. xxxvi line 17, xlv line 16, lx line 34, lxi line 6, lxxv line 4, lxxxix line 26.—The word *ardīg* 'conflict,' and also *ardīqar*, 'combatant,' are found likewise in TPhl.; cf. M. 554. 6; 43. 5 (= Mü. 2. p. 69 top, 78 bot.).

13 a (§ 18). *va-šā*: 'and by them,' etc. The pronoun *-šā* must here refer to the Living Spirit and his Sons as helpers, if we may judge from a passage in Theodore bar Khoni, see Eng. transl. (with notes), in Study VIII, p. 233 n. 45.

14 (§ 19). *hast i pa spihir bastan* (= *bastō*), etc.: lit. 'there is (of them) who,' etc.—'some of them were,' etc.—a well-known idiom; furthermore, for Pāz. *bastan* = Phl. *bastō*, *bast*, cf. note 13 above regarding the ending of *rēwudan* (= *-ō*). I have changed the original punctuation of this sentence so as to make it conform more logically to the sense (somewhat similarly Salemann); West, however, has preserved the Pāzand punctuation by beginning a new sentence and translating (less well it would seem): 'And it is in binding the demon Kunī on the celestial sphere he is killed.'

15 (§ 20). *dām i guzurg* (= *vazūrg*) *ažāš dāšt u kard*: see the remarks below on Dk. 3. 200. 8, n. 4. We should rather expect 'was made and maintained' (cf. § 39). Regarding the 'Great Creation' (macrocosm), as contrasted with the 'Little World' (microcosm, § 24), see particularly the Chinese Manichaean Treatise of Tun-huang, tr. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*. 1911, p. 526-527. West, who translates *dām i guzurg* here as 'magnificent creatures,' naturally had not the Manichaean material at that time to enable him to understand the real force of *dām i guzurg* as the 'macrocosm.'

16 (§ 21). *bēruñ āsmān pa bālist*: the superlative *bālist* corresponds to Av. *barəzišta-*, 'highest.' West renders the clause 'in supremacy in the outer sky'; Salemann supplies *i* after *bēruñ* and translates the clause 'ausserhalb des himmels in der höhe.' Probably some help in understanding the force of the Pāz. phrase *bēruñ āsmān pa bālist*, 'outside heaven in the highest' (i.e. beyond the uppermost of the heavens) may be derived from the TPhl. Cosmogonic Fragment M. 98 a, 7-24, translated above, p. 31 f. In that Fragment the purified Elements are described as having been led on (*ahrāft*) upward to the Border (*vīmand*) and then to the uppermost (*bārist*) of the light, after which followed the construction of the sun and moon out of their constituent parts.—17 (§ 21). *vīnārd*: cf. also TPhl. *vīnārd*, M. 99 d 4, 12 (= Mü. 2. p. 42, 43).—18 (§ 22). *aharāmišni u pālāišni*, etc.: these technical terms, which are to be read in Pahlavi as *ahrāmišn*,



*pālāyišn* . . . *pālāyēnd*, *ahrāmēnēnd*, are now well known through the oft-recurring forms in TPhl. *ahrāmišn*, *ahrāmād*, etc., *pārāyišn* (see Salemann, *Man. Stud.* 1, p. 51 bot., 109 top; idem, *Manichaica*, 3-4, p. 35; cf. also above, p. 40 n. 8, p. 46 n. 29, regarding TPhl. 'ul *ahrāft*, 'led on upward,' and *pārāyišn*). They are the Manichaeic designations used to denote the leading upward (lit. 'drawing onwards,' cf. Ner. Skt. *ākaraṣaṇam*) and purification of the defiled particles of light through attraction and absorption by the sun and moon.—For the etymology of *ahrāmišn* consult Bthl. *ZumAhrWb.* p. 63-64, n. 1, n. \*\*.—19 (§ 23). *Āharman pēs-vīnāihā*: in Zoroastrianism, foresight or prescience is not a characteristic of Ahriman, since he is possessed only of 'backward knowledge' and 'ignorance,' according to Bd. 1. 3, 9, 19; but in Manichaeism, according to the present passage, Ahriman is accredited with pre-vision, and for that reason we can understand why St. Ephraim, *Refutations*, tr. Mitchell, 1. p. lx, argues against the Manichaeic fallacy that Darkness had any 'foreknowledge.'

20 (§ 24). *gōhā i kōdak*: regarding the microcosm and macrocosm see above, note 15 (§ 20), and concerning Ahriman's creation see also § 8-9, 39, 46. For the adjective Pāz. *kōdak*, Phl. *kūtak*, Av. *kutaka-*, 'little,' see Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* § 71, Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* p. 89; and cf. later, Scheftelowitz, 'Iran. Etym.' in *WZKM.* (1927) 34. 218, no. 9.

21 (§ 24). *ham-pačīn aṅgōšīdaa*: Ner. Skt. *samagrāṇi tathaiṣa pratirūpāni*, lit. 'all likewise (= just so) counter-forms,' i.e. exact counterparts, hence a replica; West translates 'a wholly-copied similitude.' Compare the remarks on the Chinese Treatise, at end of this paragraph. Regarding the etymology of Pāz. *pačīn* = Phl. *pačēn* (for *pačēn*), 'copy, transcript (of a manuscript),' derived from a presumable Av. \**paiti-čayana-* (Fr. Müller, *WZKM.* 6. 264), see respectively Salemann and Horn in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* 1. 1. 309; 1. 2. 34, 81, 158. The derivation of Pāz. *aṅgōšīdaa*, Phl. *angōšītak*, is uncertain (see Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* p. 265, § 15), but the word itself, including compounds, occurs several times in the Shikand and is regularly glossed by Neryosang with Sanskrit designations (here *pratirūpa*) meaning 'analogy, similitude, parable, illustration, character,'

see West, *Shikand*, p. 230. Perhaps *ham-pačīn aṅgōšīdaa* would be rendered more closely by 'a copy reproduced (or resembling).' [Postscript.—Bartholomae, 'Zum sasanidischen Recht, II,' p. 41, *Sb. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Heidelberg, 1918, reads Phl. *angōšītak* as *āngōnīhītak*, from *āngōn*, 'so'; the sense would be about the same.]—The idea of Mānī, as here represented, with regard to the formation of man and the corporeal world, is somewhat similarly found in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise, already referred to (*JA.* 1911, p. 526–527, cf. 528–530), although in that treatise it is the demon of Greed (not Ahriman directly) who has created the bodily form of man in imitation of the visible macrocosm as an 'image fidèle de point en point de l'univers des cieux et des terres,' and the author of that work illustrates the analogy by the example of a goldsmith engraving in a ring a miniature copy of an elephant.

22 (§ 24). *gōhā i guzurg* (= *vazūrg*): see above, note 15 (§ 20).—23 (§ 24). *awā awarō tani-kardī dahišni*: cf. § 9 above and note 8. In the translation here a comma has been used to separate this clause from the preceding (cf. Salemann tr. p. 19) so as to make it a sequel to *čun . . . awarō jānavar*, and referring to the evil element in inanimate creation, much as the Fihrist (tr. Flügel, p. 88; Kessler, p. 390) alludes to the pernicious mixture of smoke with the fire, the destructive wind as contrasted with the salubrious breeze, the fog in the air, etc. West, however, translates without any punctuation, 'a wholly-copied similitude of the greater world with the other creations,' explaining the latter by a footnote, i.e. 'the spiritual world and its inhabitants'; this would match in part with some of the details in the Chinese Treatise, which concludes its enumeration by stating, 'il n'y eut pas une seule formation de l'univers qu'ils n'imitassent.' The general sense of our (microcosm and macrocosm) passage is in any event clear.

24 (§ 25). *bast u ziṇdānī*: with reference to the imprisonment of the soul with life in the body see above, S. 9 a, 22–23; *zēndān š bast giyān*; compare also § 38 below, and see the remarks below, Dk. 3. 200. 12, n. 3.—25 (§ 26). *maržašni u zāišni*: compare also § 40; the charge against Manichaeism as being opposed to the propagation of life is often repeated, and it un-

doubtedly represents the ascetic element in Mānī's religion, particularly with reference to the continence imposed upon the Elect.—26 (§ 26). *pādirānihet*: Ner. here, *pratiskhalyate*, and below (§ 41) he has for *pādirā-kardārī* (abstract) the translation *skhalana-kartā*. The Pāz. verb form *pādirānihet* (passive) is to be connected with NP. *rāndan*, 'to drive, expel, force, purge' (regarding the radical cf. Horn, *Neupers. Ety.* 606; and for the prefix *pādi*, proto-Iran. *pāti*, see Bartholomae, *Zum Air Wb.* p. 180, 181). West translates 'is exhausted'; Salemann, 'zurück geleitet (?) werde.' Neryosang (as remarked above) renders by Skt. *pratiskhalyate*, 'is caused to fall back,' which is a caus. pass. formed from the root *skhal-*, 'to stumble, slip, tumble, fall; to fall from, deviate from the right path' (for which root Apte, *Practical Skt.-Eng. Dict.* p. 1143, and Monier-Williams, *Skt.-Eng. Dict.* 2d ed., p. 1257, col. 1, allow also an additional meaning, 'to drop, drip, trickle,' but without citing any passages to support it). On the whole, the rendering 'is (= shall be) forced back' (cf. NP. *rāndan* above) seems to suit the context, implying the idea that the particles of light which would be absorbed by the sun and moon may once more be driven back into material bodies and thus retard the process of separating the darkness from the light.

27 (§ 28). *vārā šuθur i Māzañdarā*: see above, note 12 (§ 14). —28 (§ 29-37). *pa ā čim ka Māzañdarā* etc.: this long sentence is rather cumbersome, but the sense is quite clear; and I have followed in general the punctuation adopted by West, from which Salemann differs somewhat. The main structure of the paragraph is this:—In order, through an artful scheme, to separate the light swallowed by the Māzandarān demons, a vision of the Daughters of Time is shown to these devils; their lust is in consequence aroused, and their seed, which contains the particles of light, is emitted, and, being poured upon the earth, it produces plants, trees, and grain.—29 (§ 30). *kəšā rōšanī hupārd*: see above, note 13 (§ 17). The literal rendering of this well-known idiom would be 'who by them (= by whom) the light was swallowed' = 'who swallowed the light,' thus referring the relative pronoun (*kə-šā*) to *Māzañdarā*, as does Ner. Skt., *ye rociṣam agilan*. The light which the Demons had swallowed was that of Primal Man, not that of the sky to which they were

chained. This interpretation seems preferable to taking the relative (as if *kəṣ-ā?* cf. § 69, *kaṣ*) as referring to *spīhr*, even though that construction is chosen by West, 'whose light is swallowed by them,' and followed by Salemann, 'dessen licht sie verschlungen haben.'—30 (§ 31). *u*: this conjunction is certainly to be omitted, because it breaks the construction and is lacking, moreover, in Neryosang's Sanskrit translation.—31 (§ 31). *āīm*: this corresponds to the well-known NP. *āyīn*, 'ordinance, regulation, usage, mode'; hence here 'dispensation'; Ner. renders Pāz. *nō āīm* by Skt. *navaparakāratayā*, 'by a new mode.'—32 (§ 31). *viāmānī u kērōī*: these two words have been translated in accordance with Neryosang's Skt. *vivekatayā vicitratayā*, 'discrimination and diversification.' Salemann regards both the Skt. of Ner. and the presumable Phl. *vāhmānīh u kērōkīh* as obscure, and therefore renders doubtfully, 'hilfe (?) und aufsicht (?)'. West (vocab. 272, 254) translates respectively 'intimation' and 'restraint,' while choosing later (*SBE*. 24. 245) to render them together by 'discrimination and retention'; his version of the latter word would be supported by NP. *kīrū*, 'custody, care, retention, memory' (cf. Steingass, *Persian-English Dict.* p. 1068). On the whole I have been influenced rather by Neryosang's version.—33 (§ 31). *Zurvānī, rōšanī*: in the translation above (and rightly I think) these two words have been taken separately, and divided by a comma, as belonging to different phrases in the sentence whose sequence thus becomes clear. Similarly Salemann, 'damit durch die neue ordnung . . . der zeitlichkeit das licht aus innen sich abscheide.' His support is therefore of value, though I differ from his assumption of a presumed abstract Phl. '*zurvānīh* (?)' and would rather regard Pāz. *i Zurvānī* here as an adjective, lit. 'which is Zarvānic,' i.e. of the Supreme Being in Manichaeism. The interpretation in general seems to suit better than that of West, who does not separate but takes *Zurvānī rōšanī* together as 'the light of Time.' I owe much as usual to conferences with Dr. Ogden.

34 (§ 31). *Dvāzdahā Xʷarīgā Duxtarā i Zurvān . . . vīninānīd*: this passage presents a problem in certain respects. West translates: 'The twelve glorious ones [the signs of the zodiac]

show the daughters of Time to the household-attending [?] male Māzendarāns.' Salemann gives: '... lassen die zwölf Herlichen die t chter der Zeit vor den m nlichen M zaniern erscheinen.' But Neryosang renders in Skt.: *dv da sar     * (acc. pl. fem.) *duhitarah k lasya upaka  tham M jandaradev n m narak  t n m nidar  yanti*, lit. 'they show (causat.) the daughters (i.e. *duhitarah* as acc. pl., cf. Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* § 373c) of Time, who are the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac (dividing the adj. as *dv da sar     *), in the presence of the M zandar n demons who have male forms.' The two European scholars, though agreeing with each other in taking *Dv zdah  X arig * as subject, and *Duxtara* separately as object, do not accord with Neryosang, who groups *dv da sar      duhitarah* together as acc. fem. pl. to form the direct object of the verb, if I rightly interpret his twelfth-century Sanskrit.

Now, the Manichaeen myth of the Seduction of the Archontes, or Princes of Darkness, is well known from several early writers and has been ably discussed by Cumont (*La Cosmogonie manich enne*, p. 54-68), who gives abundant references to the patristic Greek and Latin sources (Hegemonius, Theodoret, Epiphanius, Titus of Bostra, St. Augustine, Evodius, etc.—see *op. cit.* p. 54-57, with notes) and cites the Oriental allusions (Theodore bar Khoni and the Shikand—see p. 57-61, with notes). As Cumont points out, there are certain variations in the presentation of the fable: it is now the androgynous figure of the 'Virgin of Light' that appears in a feminine or a masculine guise to the male and female demons respectively; or again, the 'Virtues' who arouse the concupiscence of the Archontes; or still again (as in Theodore bar Khoni), it is the 'Messenger' who assumes the seductive shapes; but after all, as Cumont indicates, the divergence is not material and may be harmonized into a general sort of agreement, as he shows. When he comes to our present account in the Shikand, Cumont (p. 60)—owing to his not having a direct knowledge of Pahlavi or Sanskrit—confines himself to deductions drawn from the translations of West and of Salemann, both of which he quotes at length in a footnote; on the other hand, his own feeling inclines him to the idea that it is '*les douze vierges glorieuses qui se d couvrent elles-m mes*' [the spacing out of the words is my own].

With regard to the inference drawn by Cumont in the statement last quoted, I may say that independently, after a long study of the present text and the other sources, I had reached a conclusion similar to his 'les douze vierges glorieuses' taken together as a single concept (even though I find that Cumont's view is hesitatingly questioned in *JA.* 1911, p. 565 n. 5 end); but with reference to the interpretation of the verb, which is a causative in the original, my results were quite different from his 'se découvrent elles-mêmes.' It was Neryosang's Sanskrit version (quoted above) that led me to make the 'Twelve Glorious (Ones)' directly identical with the 'Daughters of Time,' thus taking the phrase together as 'the Twelve Glorious Daughters of Time,' and to regard the whole concept of these personified abstractions as governed by the verb *vīvināñd* (= *vēnēnēnd*), 'they cause to appear' (before the male demons), the subject of which verb would be the Living Spirit and his helpers, cf. n. 13 a above. This interpretation would meet the grammatical needs both of Pāz. *vīvināñd* and of Skt. *nīdarśayanti*, which cannot be used as a reflexive, intransitive, or passive; moreover, by leaving the subject of the verb as indefinite, or well-known from the context, this interpretation would remove the problem of the difference of subject in the several accounts of the fable, while nothing would seem to militate against the explanation finally adopted above.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, it is certain that these 'Twelve Glorious Daughters of Time,'<sup>2</sup> as personified abstractions, are to be associated with the 'twelve majesties,' or 'twelve dominations' (*dvāḍeś śaḥrdārēti*), enumerated in the Turfan Pahlavi Fragment M. 14 (= Mü. 2. p. 44) as opposed to the 'twelve dark majesties,' or

<sup>1</sup> As a note for lexicographical purposes it may be added that, although as yet no other occurrence of the causative *vīvināñd* (= *vēnēnēnd*) happens to have been noted, though this would be a regular causal formation, still the simple form of the verb occurs several times in the TPhl. *Maḥrnamāg*, lines 265, 315, *vēnāh*, 'mayest thou see,' and 294, 320, *vēn*, 'see thou,' 417, *vēnēd*, 'see ye' (cf. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt*, p. 21, 22, 27).

<sup>2</sup> Zarvān corresponds to the 'King of the Paradise of Light' in the Fihrist, the 'Father of Greatness' in Theodore bar Khoni, etc., and the 'Great Sage of the beneficent Light' in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise, cf. *JA.* 1911. p. 542 n. 2; and see above, p. 6 bot.

dominations, in M. 34 (= Mū. 2. p. 44-45). They correspond to the 'twelve members of light' (*duodecim membra luminis*), the 'twelve aeons' (*duodecim saecula*), and the 'certain twelve great gods' (*duodecim magnos quosdam deos*) mentioned by St. Augustine (*Contra Epist. Fund.*, ch. 13, ed. Migne, *PL.* vol. 42, col. 182; id., *Contra Faustum*, I. 15, ch. 5, ed. Migne, *PL.* 42, col. 307-308). They match also with the 'twelve pilots' (δωδεκα κυβερνήται) of the Acta Archelai, ch. 13, p. 21, line 11, ed. Beeson, which appear in the Turkish Manichaean Fragments (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* III, p. 6 mid.) as 'the twelve ship-gods' (ygrmii k(ä)mičii tngilär). They are alluded to in the Fihrist (Flügel, *Mani*, p. 54 line 5 and p. 62 line 11 = complete text, I. p. 329, 362) as the 'twelve elements' ('anāšīrat al-išanī 'ašar) and the 'twelve majesties' ('ažamāt 'išanī 'ašar), cf. Flügel, text p. 54 top, 62 top; transl. p. 87 mid., 94 top, and his notes on p. 183-185, 274-277. They answer likewise to the 'twelve virgins' enumerated by Theodore bar Khoni in the section translated below, p. 241; cf. Pognon, p. 189; Cumont, p. 35.

These personified abstractions are similarly to be identified with the 'twelve daughters,' the 'twelve forms of the beneficent light,' and the 'twelve sovereigns of light,' mentioned several times in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise translated by Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911 (cf. remarks, *op. cit.* p. 566, near end of note 5). The allusions in that treatise (*op. cit.*) are as follows: p. 568-569, n. 3 (cf. p. 520 n. 1), '[douze] formes de la Lumière bienfaisante; la première est le grand roi; la seconde est la sagesse,' etc.; p. 567, 'les douze heures<sup>3</sup> . . . symbolisent les douze filles de transformation du palais du soleil'; p. 566, 'les douze heures, ce sont les douze rois lumineux de transformation secondaire' (observe p. 566 n. 1); p. 584, 'douze rois de lumière'; and p. 543, 'les douze grands rois [qui sont] la sagesse [et les autres (cf. p. 543 n. 2, p. 519-521)], [se produisent] par transformation de [l'Envoyé de la] Lumière bienfaisante. Ce sont des signes<sup>4</sup> qui symbolisent le soleil rond et complet.'

<sup>3</sup> Similarly a Turkish Manichaean Fragment (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* III, p. 18), parallel with the Chinese Manichaean Treatise, alludes to 'the Twelve Hours, the Twelve Divine Virgins' of the Sun-god.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. (for the zodiac) F. Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2. 297 n. 2.

[Moreover, the Chinese Hymn in Praise of Jesus, H. stanzas 42-43 (Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 105 top) refers to the Twelve Hours which transform themselves through supernatural power, showing themselves now as youths and again as maidens to excite the female and male demons respectively. Cf. further, Luise Troje, *Die Dreizehn und die Zwölf im Traktat Pelliot*, p. 108-116].

In conclusion I would now call particular attention to an important passage in a Turkish Manichaean Fragment found at Khojo by Le Coq, which expressly represents 'the Daughters of Āzrua [i.e. Zarvān, Time]' as possessing the power of assuming different appearances. The Fragment itself is numbered T. II, D 171 by Le Coq and was published by him, with a German translation, in his *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, Berlin, 1912. In the course of it (*op. cit.* p. 24-25, cf. p. 43 n. 35) five qualities are ascribed to Mānī as a Burkhan, or divine messenger, and to the other Burkhans, including Amari to come, in which they resemble (1) the God Khurmuzta, (2) the Living Spirit, (3) the Sun, (4) the Moon, and (5), in lines 29-33, 'the fifth manner is that of changing form and appearance, just as is the manner of the goddess of lightning, the beloved Daughter of Āzrua (i.e. Zarvān, Time), the exalted princely king of the gods.' This significant passage helps to elucidate our Shikand allusion still further.

Lastly, another T. Frag., now available (1922), Le Coq, III, p. 16, speaks of 'the twelve majesties (*yigr[mi i]lānmāk*) which emanate from the God of the Majesty of the Law and resemble the bright Sun-god [i.e. Mithra] with his twelve divine Virgins.' <sup>5</sup>

35 (§ 31). *añdēmān*: Phl. *handēmān*, 'before the eyes' (from Av. *daēman*-, 'eye'), compare Skt. *sākṣāt*, Lat. *coram*, and see Bthl., *Zum AirWb.* p. 169. Neryosang renders by Skt. *upa-kāṇṭham*, 'before, in the face of,' lit. 'at the throat of'; elsewhere also by *saṃnidha*-, 'in proximity to'; consult likewise the note by Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 25, § 31, regarding Phl. *handēmānkar* in Vd. 19. 31 (192).—36 (§ 32). *ku añdā*: Phl. *ku tāk*, cf. NP. *kih tā*, 'so that' (Salemann, *Grundr. iran. Philol.* I. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, III, p. 16 bot., Berlin (APAW), 1922.



323); Ner. Skt. *yat yāvat*; West, 'so that while,' etc.; cf. *ku aṇḍā* above, § 26.—37 (§ 32). *ā Māzañdarā . . . varun ašā hūsažihət*: West translates 'so that while the lust of those Māzandarāns . . . is well suited to them' etc., but Salemann has correctly noticed that the Pāz. form *hūsažihət* is a misreading of an original Phl. *angēžihēt*, 'is aroused'; yet Sm. does not explicitly translate the pronominal form *ašā*, which he conjecturally transcribes as Phl. *ažišān* (?) with a question mark. I have taken *ā Māzañdarā . . . varun ašā*, lit. 'those Māzandarāns their lust,' as idiomatically equivalent to 'the lust of those Māzandarāns.' One might be inclined to render these words 'the lust of those (ā) Māzandarāns for them (*ašā*, i.e. for the Virgins), but the Virgins have already been referred to by the pronoun *āšā*, directly preceding *varun*. Ner. has *yat yāvat tešām Mājandara-devānām daršanāt tāsām kāmah samudeti*, which is not precise as representing *ašā*, though it is exact in giving the meaning of the verb, 'arises, is aroused.'—38 (§ 34). *ā rōšanī . . . rōvihət*: West and Salemann connect this sentence with the preceding section (§ 33) instead of beginning a new sentence as translated above; they differ slightly from each other in the punctuation of the following sections (§ 35–37) and from the pointing above adopted; but in any case the divergences do not affect the sense materially. The verbal form *rōvihət* is a misreading in Pāz. for Phl. *rēžihēt*, 'is poured.'—39 (§ 35). *zōrdāēā*: Phl. *žōrtākān*, Ner. Skt. *dhānyāni*, 'grain.'—40 (§ 35). *až-ašā*: lit. 'from them'; West, 'therefrom'; Salemann, 'daraus'; the plural may denote the different seeds (cf. St. Augustine, *De Nat. Boni*, ch. 44. 1, 'in omnibus seminibus arborum herbarum,' see Baur, *Das man. Religionssystem*, p. 204), or it may indicate both the seed and the light as sources.—41 (§ 36–37). *pa šuθur vazārihət . . . urvarā əž zamī vazārihət*: for a further phase of the myth, representing the sin in the seed of the Archontes as producing the Five Trees of Evil, see Theodore bar Khoni (translated below, p. 244; cf. Pognon, p. 191; Cumont, p. 39–40).—42 (§ 37). *pa vahān i urvarā*: West, 'as the cause of trees'; Ner. Skt. *hetunā vanas-patīnām*; Sm. 'vermittels der gewächse.'

43 (§ 38). *bast u ziñdānī*: see note 24 (§ 25), where the verbal form *kard*, 'made,' is given; this may be supplied here if felt to be

necessary; it is implied in Ner. Skt. *nibaddho guptyām kṣiptaḥ*, cf. West, *Shikand*, p. 170 n. 1.—44 (§ 39). *dādār u dāštār*: see the remark above, note 15 (§ 20).—45 (§ 40). *zāišni kardan*: see note 25 (§ 26).—46 (§ 40). *paēwañd rāinīdan*: for these words in a somewhat different collocation see below, Dk. 3. 200. 5, notes 1 and 2. Here West translates 'to propagate lineage'; Salemann, 'nachkommenschaft zu schaffen'; Ner. has *anvayaṃ pracārayitum*, 'to cause posterity (or a family) to go forward.'—47 (§ 41). *ham-ayār*: concerning this word (= Phl. 'ēyar) and TPhl. *hiyār* (with *hiyārīh*, S. 9 a, 3) see Bthl., *Zum AirWb*. p. 25 n. 1.—48 (§ 41). *pādirā-kardārī*: see above, note 26 (§ 26); here the two words written separately in the text are to be taken together as *pādirā-kardārī*, Ner. Skt. *skhalanakaritayā* (instr. fem.), lit. 'through making a fall.'—49 (§ 41). *nēiça kištan* (= *nē-ič kēštan*): this statement as to such a prohibition against cultivating the soil is rather too sweeping in its extent, though it probably may be applicable to the Elect, who were to live by food (fruits, etc., cf. Baur, p. 286) given by the Auditores. Similarly the Jains are forbidden to engage in agriculture. Yet any restriction that curtailed the practice of it would be vigorously condemned by a Zoroastrian, whose religion taught that cultivating the earth was synonymous with righteousness (cf. Avesta, Vd. 3. 4, 23-35).

50 (§ 42). *añbasānihā*: there remains no longer any doubt that this Pāzand word, with the regular adverbial ending *-ihā*, means 'contrarily, contradictorily, inconsistently' and is rightly rendered here by Ner. with *anībaddhatayā*, 'with inconsistency, incoherently' (consult Bartholomae, *WZKM*. 30. 32-36). There is uncertainty, however, with regard to the reading of the base-form in Pahlavi from which it is derived, that being written in Phl. letters as *an b d dān(n)*, which Bthl. (*loc. cit.*) proposes to read as *awīkān*, comparing Skt. *abhīka*.—The Zoroastrian controversialist contends that the Manichaean doctrine is inconsistent in making Ahriman at the same time the creator and the destroyer of life, and consequently also in the injunction against taking life (§ 44).—51 (§ 43). *ham*: here translated 'likewise,' Sm. 'gleichfalls'; but West renders 'always,' pointing out that Ner. Skt. *sadaiva* indicates a Pāz. *hamē*.—52 (§ 44).

*awazadan*: Phl. *ōzatan*, Av. *avaǰan-*, 'to kill off,' cf. § 19 above, and see Salemann, *Grundr. iran. Philol.* 1. 1. 309. The well-known Manichaean injunction (Buddhistic in origin) against the taking of animal life is made incumbent even upon the Auditores according to the Turkish Manichaean Confession (Khuastuanift), lines 54–56, 90, 120, tr. Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 285–286, 288, 289, cf. id., *Chuastuanift*, p. 14, in *Abh. preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1911; likewise tr. Bang, *Muséon*, 36. p. 151, 153, 155. See also Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2. 337, 339–340.

53 (§ 46–49). *ditīñ . . . hast* etc.: a slightly different punctuation, varying from the one given above, is also possible. Sm. places a period after *hast* and begins a new sentence with *pa vazārdārī*, 'Durch die scheidung' etc. West takes the whole paragraph as one sentence and translates: 'as the world is maintained by Aharman, and in the end the sacred being is triumphant through the departure of lives from bodies, this worldly existence is dissipated in the end, and is not arranged anew.'—54 (§ 46–47). *pērōž Yazat . . . pa vazārdārī*: in connection with this well-known postulate of the triumph of Light through the separation of Darkness, we may compare also an allusion in the Manichaean Confession Khuastuanift, lines 169–170: 'we knew in what manner the Arqon Earth-God will be reduced to naught, and how Light and Darkness will (finally) be separated'; see Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 291; id. *Chuastuanift*, Berlin, 1911 (*APAW*), p. 16; but a different interpretation of this passage is given by Bang, *Muséon*, 36. 157, 207–208, who takes *argun* as a temporal instrumental and translates the sentence as, 'wissen wir warum dermaleinst Erde und Himmel vergehen.'—55 (§ 48–50). *vašōwihət, ārāihət, vīrāstārī, tan i pasīn*: regarding these eschatological terms (and the 'future body' in which the Zoroastrians believed) see below, Dk. 3. 200. 13, notes 3 and 8.

56 (§ 51). *ā du bunyaštaa hamāihā astāšni ham-vīmañdihā*: in the literal translation given above I have taken *hamāihā* (adv.) *astāšni* separately, and have in general followed the Skt. version of Ner., *tayor drayor mūlāspadayoh samagratayā* (instr. = adv.) *saṁsthitiḥ samasīmatayā* (instr. = adv.) *evam abhūt yaiḥā āta-pasya chāyāyāś ca*, lit. 'of these two root-abodes completely the

state existed so with contiguity as (that) of sunshine and shadow.' The great rarity of Pāz. plurals in *-ihā* (see West, *Shikand*, p. 218) precludes taking *hamāihā* and *ham-vīmañdihā* as adjectives; they must be adverbs here, as indicated by Ner. West (ed. and tr.), on the other hand, makes a compound of *hamāihā-astāšni* and takes *ā du bunyaštaa* as a nominative, translating the whole sentence thus: 'those two original evolutions are perpetually remaining, and existed as contiguously as sun and shadow.' Salemann renders: 'das grenze an grenze zusammen stehn jener zwei urprincipien eben so war, wie sonnenschein und schatten.'

57 (§ 51). *ham-vīmañdihā*: the Manichaean doctrine of the *vīmand*, 'border, frontier,' is noticed by almost all the early writers, from St. Augustine and St. Ephraim down to an-Nadīm and Shahrastānī. For references and citations from the Christian and Muhammadan writers consult Flügel, *Mani*, p. 86 mid., 87 bot., 88 top, 94 bot., with notes on p. 187-192, 205. To these add al-Murtaḍā, tr. Kessler, p. 350 mid., 352 top; also St. Ephraim, tr. Mitchell, p. lix, lines 6-7, 'if the two frontiers of Good and Evil were contiguous'; p. lx, line 4, 'bordered'; p. lxxvi, line 12, 'bordering.' Precisely this Pahlavi word *vīmand* (or *vīmōnd*, 'border, frontier') is used in the account of Ahriman's invasion of the realm of light, as given by the ninth-century Zoroastrian writer Zātsparam, where it is stated (Zsp. 2. 1) that 'he came forth to the border of the sky'—*frāž val (ō) vīmōnd ī āsmān mat*—and again Zsp. 1. 4, *frāž val (ō) vīmōnd mat*; also Zsp. 1. 6, *vīmōnd* (see text, ed. West, in *Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian Studies in Honour of P. B. Sanjana* p. xlv-xlv, lii, Strassburg and Leipzig, 1904, and transl. id., *SBE*. 5. 156, 161); compare indirectly Artā Virāf 50. 6, *sāmān-i vīmōnd*, 'boundary-mark of the border' (between property). Furthermore this same designation is found in the Turfan Pahlavi Fragment M. 98 a, 7 (= Mu. 2, p. 38), '*ūl'ō vīmand*, 'up to the border,' see above, Study II, p. 31, p. 40 n. 9 (Cosmogonic Fragment).

This contiguous frontier is not to be confused in any way with the 'wall' or 'four walls' constructed for protection after the creation of the world—see Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, 2. p. 166 n. 4, p. 103, 106-110, on the reference by Severus of

Antioch; see also Acta Archelaï, p. 21, line 13, for the fourfold wall (τεῖχος), and TPhl. *ġahār parisp*, M. 99 c, 14 (= Mū. 2. p. 41; see Study II, above); likewise the 'dividing wall' of al-Murtaḍā, tr. Kessler, p. 354 top. This latter bulwark corresponds to the 'rampart' (Phl. *darpuštīh*) erected by Auharmazd to protect the sky after the invasion by Ahriman (Bd. 3. 26; 6. 2, 3; Zsp. 5. 1).

58 (§ 51). *ġuñ aftāw u āsāzāa*: for this Manichaean simile of sunshine and shadow see also St. Ephraim, tr. Mitchell, p. xliii, lines 20-21, lxxvii, lines 26-37, and Shahrastānī (tr. Haarbrücker, p. 188), 'as a person and his shadow,' cf. Flügel, p. 188.—59 (§ 51). *nišāmī*: the exact meaning and Phl. equivalent of this word are not sure. West translates by 'demarcation' and proposes (p. 246 n. 1) reading *nišānīh*, noting that Ner. gives Pāz. *nišāmī* (for *nišīmī*) in Skt. as *āsanatvam*, 'resting-place.' Salemann renders here doubtfully by 'scheidewand (?)' and repeats his uncertainty in a note (p. 26); he later (*Manichäische Studien*, I, p. 100) gives the same meaning 'scheidewand' and suggests that possibly Pāz. *nišāmī* is a wrong reading for TPhl. *nīyām* in the Manichaean Fragment M. 472, line 7 (= Mū. 2, p. 18). Bartholomae, *Zum AirWb.* p. 97-98, discusses the word without coming to very definite results.—60 (§ 51). *vašādaī* (= Phl. *višātakīh*): probably 'void'; West, 'open space'; Sm. 'lücke.' Ner. renders by *viśleṣatvam*, 'disunion, separation, chasm.' The word, Phl. *višātakīh*, as a Zoroastrian concept, is used similarly in the Selections of Zātsparam, Zsp. 1. 1 (text, *op. cit.* p. xlv, tr. West, *SBE.* 5. 155), in a passage which West renders: 'light was above and darkness below, and between those two was open space' (*višātakīh*), thus representing the Zoroastrian view as opposed to the Manichaean. In the Bundahishn (1. 4, 5) this latter empty space is designated as *tūxīhīh* and is defined as the 'air' (*vāī*). The references adduced seem to indicate that Darkness and Light were in immediate contiguity, and I hope at some future time (from material already in hand) to deal more fully with the subject of their contact at the 'Border.'



## STUDY VII

### THE SO-CALLED INJUNCTIONS OF MĀNĪ, TRANSLATED FROM THE PAHLAVI OF DĒNKART 3. 200 \*

The discovery made in Chinese Turkistan, at the beginning of this century, of a mass of Manichæan fragments, in part remnants of Mānī's long-lost bible, lent a keen zest to the study of that old-time heresy which struggled for world supremacy in religion during the early Christian centuries. As a would-be rival to Christianity and Zoroastrianism Mānī's syncretic creed was anathematized by Church Fathers and Zoroastrian priests alike. The story of how these fragments of the missing Manichæan literature were found at Turfan and elsewhere in Eastern Turkistan is now familiar to scholars.<sup>1</sup> [Cf. above, p. 4 n. 1].

Having long been engaged in studying these fragments in the light of Zoroastrian influence upon Manichæism, I have been led also to collect the allusions to Mānī—all of them polemical in character—in the Zoroastrian Pahlavi Books. [Cf. above, p. 175]. A chapter here presented <sup>2</sup> from the Dēnkart, or "Acts of the Zoroastrian Religion," denounces a series of Mānī's commandments (two or three of them quite apocryphal) which were contradicted, a century after Mānī's time, by the Magian high priest Ātūrpāt, prime minister of Shāhpūhr II (A.D. 309-79).

\* [Reprinted, with some additions and a few slight changes, from my article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1924, p. 213-217. The courtesy is acknowledged with appreciation.—A. V. W. J.]

<sup>1</sup> See Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1909, pp. 299-322 (with bibliography, p. 301).

<sup>2</sup> The passage has been rendered into rather literal English, somewhat to the detriment of the style. The very free English paraphrase (p. 315-317) by Peshotan Dastur Behramjee Sanjana (PtS.) in his

## PAHLAVI TEXT TRANSLITERATED

Dk. 3, 200 (ed. Pt. B. Sanjana, 5, 242-4; ed. Dh. M. Madan, I, 216-18)

1. x ī<sup>1</sup> drūž astak<sup>2</sup> Mānī<sup>3</sup> patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh<sup>4</sup> ārastār Ātūrpāt<sup>5</sup> ī Māraspandān<sup>5</sup> andarž drāyist.<sup>6</sup> \*

2. 'Ēvak<sup>1</sup> patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt [kēn]<sup>2</sup> pavan (pa) mēnišn lā (nē) dāštan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī kēn ū awārīg drūž 'ōgirāistan<sup>3</sup> ī<sup>3</sup> martūm(-)tan<sup>4</sup> drāyist.<sup>5</sup>

3. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt āžvarīhā<sup>1</sup> anbār lā (nē) sāxtan andaržēnīt.<sup>2</sup> Drūž astak Mānī pavan (pa) Āž-varžišnīh<sup>3</sup> čāštakīh<sup>4</sup> nihān<sup>5</sup> anbār ī anšūtā (martūm) ī gēhān ū xvarišn ū dārišn apēsahīnītan<sup>6</sup> ū jān<sup>7</sup> ī šēdān (dēvān) ū zak(ān)-aš gan[r]āk-dahakān<sup>8</sup> ū dām<sup>9</sup> javūt (yūt) āžvarīhā anbārtan davist.<sup>10</sup>

4. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt<sup>1</sup> šapīr (vēh) māhmān patīriřtan<sup>2</sup> andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī mān-ič<sup>3</sup> zak(ān)-aš māhmān dēn (andar) patīriřn yehvūnēt<sup>4</sup> (bavēt) ašgahānīh<sup>5</sup> davist.

5. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt nēša (zan) min (aš) tōxmak kartan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī nēša (zan) min(aš)-ič barā (bē) tōxmak pavan (pa) patvand<sup>1</sup> rāyēnītan<sup>2</sup> val(ō)-aš frīftakān bažakīh davist.

<sup>2</sup> (Cont'd.)

edition of the text, Bombay, 1888, has been helpful, though his version, as is natural in the case of a pioneer attempt, sometimes fails (e.g. § 9) to hit the correct meaning. In the transliteration I have followed my custom of giving the "Huzvārišn" forms, followed by



## LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE PAHLAVI TEXT

Dk. 3, 200 (ed. Sanjana, 5, 242-4; ed. Madan, I, 216-18)

1. Ten injunctions<sup>1</sup> which the fiend incarnate, Mānī, [or 'the crippled fiend, Mānī.' *So throughout.*]<sup>2</sup> clamorously proclaimed<sup>6</sup> contrary to those of the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, son of Māraspand.<sup>5</sup>

2. [i] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) not to cherish vengeance<sup>2</sup> in one's thoughts. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, clamorously proclaimed<sup>5</sup> that mankind<sup>4</sup> should incline toward<sup>3</sup> vengeance and other fiend(ish passions).

3. [ii] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) not to make a hoard (of riches) avariciously.<sup>1</sup> The fiend incarnate, Mānī, in accordance with his teaching of Greed-action<sup>3</sup> falsely said to destroy the private (lit. hidden) hoard of men of the world, and the food and possession, and avariciously to hoard them up separately (for) the life of demons and those evil serpents and creatures of his.

4. [iii] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to welcome the good as guests. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said there should be<sup>4</sup> slackness of the house<sup>3</sup> also in receiving those guests of his.

5. [iv] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to take a wife from a (good) family. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said to arrange for,<sup>2</sup> in marriage,<sup>1</sup> a wife<sup>2</sup> from even (those) without (good) family, (and) with the iniquity of her deceits.

<sup>2</sup> (Cont'd.)

their Iranian equivalents in parentheses ( ); vowels written *plene* in the text are indicated by long quantity marks.

\* Numbers in text and translation refer to Notes, p. 208 f. [= orig. p. 218-227].

6. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt pavan (pa) pēšēmārīh ū pasēmārīh<sup>1</sup> dātistān rāst rāyēnītan<sup>2</sup> andaržēnīt.<sup>3</sup> Drūž astak Mānī dātistān dāt dātōbar min (až) gēhān anāftan (?)<sup>4</sup> davist.

7. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt min (až) adātīhā kūštan ī<sup>1</sup> tōrān (gāvān) ū gōspandān pāxrēž andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī pavan (pa) gēhān anaržīšnīh ī gōdītan(?)<sup>2</sup> ū(?)<sup>3</sup> dārišn ī<sup>4</sup> k admn (? , hāmīst)<sup>5</sup> martūm anāftan<sup>6</sup> gōspand lavata (awāk) martūm awasīhīnītan<sup>7</sup> davist.

8. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt gētīī<sup>1</sup> būnēdātak<sup>2</sup> rāī dāštan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī parkār<sup>3</sup> pavan (pa) stūn<sup>4</sup> ī Kūndag<sup>4</sup> Drūž zak (ān) ī būnēdātak<sup>2</sup> drāyīstan davist.

9. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt čabun<sup>1</sup> (hēr) ī gētīī<sup>2</sup> pavan (pa) Yazdān<sup>3</sup> frāž šadkūnā<sup>4</sup> (hištan) andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī gētīī čabun<sup>1</sup> (hēr) apāyīstan<sup>5</sup> ī<sup>5</sup> vinās ap-aš (= ū-š)<sup>6</sup> kartār ū dātār bažakkar<sup>7</sup> davist.

10. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt čabun (hēr) ī<sup>1</sup> mēnōg banafša (ba xvāt) bavīhūnastan (xvāstan) andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī šapīr (vēh) mēnōg<sup>2</sup> dēn (andar) drūžīšn ī<sup>3</sup> arāstakīh<sup>4</sup> ap-aš (= ū-š)<sup>5</sup> hūhēmēt(?)<sup>6</sup> bōxtīšnīh-īč<sup>7</sup> davist.

11. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt drūž min (až) tan barā (bē) kartan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī martūm tan<sup>1</sup> ī drūž davist.

12. 'Ēvak patīrak zak (ān) ī ahrāyīh ārastār Ātūrpāt Yazdān<sup>1</sup> pavan (pa) tan māmān kartan andaržēnīt. Drūž astak Mānī Yazdān pavan (pa) tan māmān lā (nē) yehvūnēt<sup>2</sup> (bavēt) barā (bē) dēn (andar) tan bastak<sup>3</sup> ast<sup>4</sup> davist.

6. [v] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to arrange for <sup>2</sup> just judgment in regard to plaintiff and defendant.<sup>1</sup> The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said to reject <sup>4</sup> from the world judgment, law, (and) judge.

7. [vi] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) refraining from the killing of large cattle and small cattle unlawfully. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said for mankind to reject in the world the unworthiness of cattle-raising (?) <sup>2</sup> and (?) <sup>3</sup> the holding of every <sup>5</sup> possession, (and rather) to destroy <sup>7</sup> cattle along with men.

8. [vii] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to hold the world for an original creation.<sup>2</sup> The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said clamorously to proclaim that a disk <sup>3</sup> upon the support <sup>4</sup> of the fiend Kūndag <sup>4</sup> is its original creation.

9. [viii] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to dispense worldly riches in behalf of God.<sup>3</sup> The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said that worldly riches necessitate <sup>5</sup> sin, and the maker and giver thereof <sup>6</sup> is a worker of iniquity.

10. [ix] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to seek spiritual riches for oneself. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said spiritual good to be in the fiendishness of injustice, and therefrom <sup>5</sup> is good character (?) <sup>6</sup> and salvation.

11. [x] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to banish the fiend from the body. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said mankind to be the body <sup>1</sup> of the fiend.

12. [xi] One contrary to that which the adorer of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) to make God a guest in the body. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said God should not be a guest in the body, but he is <sup>4</sup> a prisoner <sup>3</sup> in the body.

13. 'Ēvak *patīrak zak* (*ān*) *ī ahrāyīh ārāstār Ātūrpāt 'ē ū 'ē*<sup>1</sup> *dēn (andar) 'ē ū 'ē nafša (xvēš) tan*<sup>2</sup> *gēhān vīrāstan*<sup>3</sup> *andaržēnūt. Drūž astak Mānī gēhān akōrš*<sup>4</sup> *vīrāstār*<sup>5</sup> [*lā (nē)*] *yehvūnēt*<sup>6</sup> (*bavēt*) *barā(bē)-ič pavan (pa) ātūr*<sup>7</sup> *ī yāvētān sōž višōwihēt*<sup>8</sup> *davist.*

---

NOTES ON DĒNKART 3, 200,<sup>1</sup> I-13

I.—I. x ī: So Mn. *d ī*, "ten (injunctions) which" (better than PtS. *dī*), although twelve injunctions are actually enumerated; a somewhat similar miscount in the caption résumé appears to occur two chapters further on (3, 202). Both of these selections form a part of a series of chapters (196-202), in each of which "ten" sayings or admonitions are recorded, as several times elsewhere in Pahlavi literature. The schematic arrangement would consequently call for "ten" (not eleven or twelve). Now in the preceding chapter, Dk. 3, 199 (PtS. pp. 241-2; Mn. pp. 215-16), the direct admonitions of Ātūrpāt (given as injunctions in the imperative mood) are recorded in the text as "x", but they can be so counted only by grouping §§ 8-9 of that chapter into one injunction (vi), as is done by PtS. in his transl. p. 315; or, better still, by compressing §§ 10-11 into one section. A similar method of reduction could be employed to reduce our present chapter to "ten" injunctions by combining our §§ 9-10 (here numbered as injunctions viii-ix) into one section, and further compressing our §§ 11-12 (here numbered as injunctions x-xi) into a single section. But doubtful. A further divergence to be noticed is the fact that our present § 11 (here numbered as injunction x), enjoining the banishment of the fiend from the human body, is altogether missing in Dk. 3, 199, which proceeds immediately to § 12 (there called injunction ix), which urges that the Godhead be made a guest in the body. Possibly, therefore, but by no means certainly, our § 11 (injunction x) may be due to an expansion. The last section, 13 (there x = our xii), as to making the world perfect, is practically the same in tenor in its first part in both chapters, although

13. [xii] One contrary to that which the adorning of holiness, Ātūrpāt, enjoined, (namely) for (men) themselves,<sup>2</sup> one with another,<sup>1</sup> to make perfect<sup>3</sup> the world. The fiend incarnate, Mānī, falsely said there is not ever<sup>4</sup> to be a perfecter<sup>5</sup> of the world, but indeed it will be destroyed<sup>8</sup> by a fire<sup>7</sup> burning for ever.

---

naturally Ātūrpāt says nothing about the final world conflagration. On the whole it is perhaps best to let our numbering stand (which PtS. has done), after having drawn attention to the divergences and discrepancies. Much the same might be said about Dk. 3, 202, mentioned at the outset.—2. *astak* [or *xastak*]: Here taken as from *ast* “bone,” cf. *ast-ōmand*, hence “incarnate”; but it may be taken with Bartholomae, *WZKM.* 29, 23, as “seiend” (being) from *ast*, “a being”; similarly Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 20, on ShGV. 16, 53, *hastak* čīž “existierendes ding,” and West (ad loc.), *SBE.* 24, 246, “existing thing”; less well West, *SBE.* 37, 278 (Dk. 9, 39, 13), *xastak* “broken-down” (NP. *xastan* “to break”); cf. TPhl. *xast*, S. 8, 4 (Salemann, *Man. Stud.*, iii–iv, p. 42). [Postscript, 1930. I am now, however, inclined to adopt the transliteration *xastak* ‘broken’ (though formerly rejected) and to translate throughout as ‘the crippled fiend Mānī,’ i.e. devil of a cripple, and to interpret thus on the ground of the tradition that Mānī was lame either in one leg or in both. In support of this view I adduced the two known passages in the Fihrist, adding other reasons, at a session of the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, August 31, 1928.]—3. *Mānū*: Written in TPhl. *Mānī*; the edition of Madan here wrongly has *ū* after *Mānū*.—4. *ahrāyih*: Bthl., *Zum AirWb.*, p. 11, n. 4, prefers *ahrākīh* or *ahrādīh*; TPhl. shows *ardāy* (Mū. 1078) or *ardāih* (S. 9 verso, d, 17).—5. *Ātūrpāt ī Māraspandān* (or *Mahrō*-, *Məhrə*-): The noted pontiff who was prime minister of Shāhpūhr II (A.D. 309–379), thus a century later than Mānī; the text of Mn. reads, throughout, *Ātūrō pāt*, the *ō* (ö), as in PtS. *Mārō-spandān* for Mn. *Māraspandān*, being the “shewa” vowel (ə); cf. Bthl.,

WZKM. 30, 29-31; 29, 248. As already observed (note 1), the original admonitions of Ātūrpāt are given in the chapter (Dk. 3, 199) immediately preceding this one, and they correspond in general tenor and sequence to these. But in that chapter the injunctions are given in a direct form as commandments in the imperative mood, while here they are given throughout indirectly in the infinitive mood (practically equivalent to indirect discourse).—6. *drāyist*: This verb, as also in § 2, has a bad sense in Pahlavi, "to clamour, vociferate, prate, babble," cf. NP. *d<sup>ra</sup>rā'idan*, and (like *davist*, §§ 3-13) is used of evil beings; for convenience, therefore, it may be rendered into English by the addition of a qualifying adverb, "clamorously proclaimed" (just as below, *davist*, "falsely proclaimed"); the verb depending upon *drāyist* stands in the infinitive (cf. above, note 5, end); regarding the formation of this preterite (and also *davist*) see Bthl., WZKM. 29, pp. 24, 34, 37, 38.

2.—1. *'ēvak* or *ēvak*: This is the accepted and assured reading of the traditional *xadūk*, *ayōk*.—2. [*kēn*]: Both PtS. and Mn. omit, but the context requires the addition of *kēn* from the next sentence, as indicated by PtS. through his parenthesis and footnote.—3. *'ōgīrāistan* (?) *ī*: Lit. "the inclining of mankind towards"; somewhat uncertain (PtS. *an d ra st n n d*, Mn. *an dr d st k n*; PtS., p. 295, pāzandizes by *hūgērādan-ī*), but it seems plausible to compare NP. *girāyistan* or *garāyistan*, "to incline towards, love," etc. (Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 1077), and to take the prefixed *an-* as the common verbal prefix Phl. *'ō* (*au* = *ō*), the meaning then being lit. "incline down to"; the *ī* (conjoined with the verb in the PtS. edition, as often) is the common construction connecting the infin. with the following noun in Phl. and NP., cf. below (§ 7) *kūštan ī tōrān* (*gāvān*); it would be out of place to suggest reading *'ōdrāyistan* or *āvīrāstan*.—4. *martūm(-)tan*: As cpd. lit. "mankind-body."—5. *drāyist*: See § 1, n. 6; text of Mn. has *an[d]aržēnūt*, though this may belong to part of the next sentence in § 3 (see n. 2 on that section) which is supplied by PtS.

3.—1. *āžvarīhā* or *āžūrīhā*: Adverb, cf. NP. *āzvar*, *āzūr*, see West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 16.—2. [ . . . ] *andaržēnūt*: See remark on § 2, n. 5, end; PtS. gives the text of this sentence as

here transcribed, but he notes that he has supplied the missing sentence 'evak . . . andaržēnūt; his text does not include *zak ī*, though necessary to the sense.—3. *Āž-varžišnīh*: PtS. writes this cpd. as two separate words; the fiend Āž, Av. Āzi (cf. above, § 3, n. 1), is often alluded to in the TPhl. Fragments as the demon of Greed; Mn. text here has *db n r p šn ih* (*dav-varžišnīh*?, cf. Frag. S. 7, c, 20, *d v x v n d*, "lord of lies"?) [Thus, Mn.'s text *dav-varžišnīh čāštakīh* would mean 'the teaching of deceit-doing.' Consult the note on S. 7 c 20, above in Study IV].—4. *čāštakīh*: So rightly Mn.; the text of PtS. attaches *č* to the preceding word.—5. *nihān*: So PtS., better than Mn. *n aan*, "and others."—6. *apēsahīnītan*: The transcription of this word (cf. § 7) is not quite certain, though the meaning is clear; PtS. Pāz. (p. 295) gives *awsahīnītan* and on § 7 (p. 296) Pāz. *awīsahīnītan*; West, *Shikand-gūmānik Vijār*, p. 233, has *awasāinīdan* "to exterminate, annihilate"; possibly we should read *apaxšīnītan* (cf. Skt. *apakṣiṇāti*), cf. Bthl., *IF* 38, 18, n. 1, 2, 3.—7. *ū jān ī*: Thus rightly Mn. (though with an unnecessary *ī* before *ū jān ī*); PtS. reads *kāmāk*, though adding in a footnote that all the MSS. here read *jān ī*.—8. *gan[r]āk-dahakān*: Mn. *ganādahakān*; the first element of this compound is the common term employed in Phl. and Pāz. for rendering Av. *anra*; for various suggestions regarding the possible Iranian reading of this obscure word (*anrāk*, *zūrāk*, or ? *drvāk*) see Bthl., *AirWb.* col. 105. [In an article which became available only later, I find that Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntniss . . . Mundarten*, i, p. 22 (in *Sitzb. Heidelberger Ak. Wiss.*, 1916, No. 9), proposes to read *dawāk* as a pres. ptcpl. of the verb "to deceive," thus meaning "betrügend, betrügerisch." This would accord with my suggestion just above (§ 3, n. 3) for explaining TPhl. *d v x v n d* as "lord of lies." ]—9. *dām javūt (yūt)*: PtS. conjoins as one word.—10. *davist*: So PtS. throughout (see comments in § 1, n. 6); Mn. has generally *davūt* (cf. Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 37), though sometimes marked with diacriticals, wrongly as here, *davdūt*.

4.—1. *Ātūrpāt*: Mn. wrongly has a punctuation mark after this word.—2. *patīristan*: Pāz. *padīraftan*; it is possible also to transliterate as *patagrifstan*; TPhl. has both *p d y r y f t* (*padīrist*) and *g r y f t* (*grift*), see Bthl., *WZKM.* 25, 404; 30, 34.—3. *mān-*

*ič*, etc.: The words in this sentence are clear, but the construction seems a little involved.—4. *yehvūnēt* (*bavēt* or *bēt*): Both PtS. and Mn. have the ending *-y t n* = *-ēt* here and in §§ 12, 13; therefore, unless we are to assume that this is a substitution for the ordinary internal form of *t* and read *yehvūntan* (*būtan*)—for which possibility cf. Bthl., “Über ein sasan. Rechtsbuch,” in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1910, p. 9, line 10—the verb here (and in §§ 12, 13) is a 3rd sing. pres. instead of the usual infin.; observe that PtS. Pāz. reads *yēhvūnēt*; regarding this verb see West and Haug, *Glossary*, pp. 83, 86, 189, and also Bthl., *WZKM*, 25, 407, n. 2.—5. *ašgahānīh*: Abstract in *-īh*, cf. NP. *ašgahān*. “lazy, slothful, indolent,” see West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 29.

5.—1. *pavan* (*pa*) *patvand*: Cf. Bthl., *WZKM*. 27, 370.—2. *rāyēnītan*: Cf. Bthl., “Über ein sasan. Rechtsbuch,” in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1910, p. 22. In Manichæism only the Auditores, not the Elect, indulged in marriage.

6.—1. *pēšēmārīh ū pasēmārīh*: Lit. “complaint and defense”; on these legal terms used in the case of plaintiff and defendant, see Bthl., “Über ein sasan. Rechtsbuch,” in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1910, pp. 17, 18, 19, 20, 24; id. *WZKM*. 30, 33; cf. also West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 114.—2. *rāyēnītan*: For references see § 5, n. 2.—3. *andaršēnūt*: So PtS. as usual; Mn. here has an abridged form *andaršn*.—4. *an ap tnn* = *anāftan*: [Similarly the text ‘transliterated into Zend characters’ by PtS. (*op. cit.* p. 296 top) gives Pāz. *anāwtan* ‘spurn’ (p. 316 bot. Engl. tr.). This same word *anāftan* ‘to reject’ occurs again in our next section (§ 7 end), though there PtS. (p. 296 mid., cf. p. 316 bot., Engl.) erroneously gives Pāz. *hū-āwtan* and translates ‘well-favoured.’] Observe that rightly Jamaspji M. J. Asana, *Pahlavi . . . Dict.*, Bombay, 1886, vol. iv, p. 816, has *anāftan* “to forsake, abandon, withhold one’s hand,” etc.; West, *Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār*, p. 228, also gives *anāftan*, which Neryosang renders by Skt. *naś-*, *nihan-*, and by *nirasana*, “expelling, removal, rejection”; the meaning therefore seems certain, being further confirmed by the TPhl. Fragments; see Salemann, *Manichaica*, 3–4, p. 36.

7.—1. *kūštan ī*: On the infin. construction with *ī* see § 2, n. 3, end.—2. *dn d dt n n* (*gōdītan ? ū ?*): Mn. has this word as indicated; PtS. omits it in the Phl. text, but gives (p. 295) in Pāz. *dūwītan va*.



Accordingly I have ventured to read the Mn. text as *gōdītan ū* and to propose comparing this derivative verb with Av. *gaōdya-*, adj. "cattle-raising" (Bthl., *AirWb.*, col. 481).—3. *ū* (?): This conjunction "and" may be deduced from the Mn. reading and the Pāz. *va* in PtS., see preceding note.—4. *dārišn ī*: Mn. rightly has *ī*.—5. *k admn* (?): Mn. gives the final *mn* as a ligature (*kāda* ?); PtS. writes it separately as *m n* (*kādmān*). Both variations of the ending find manuscript support elsewhere. This troublesome word has been much discussed. Salemann, *Grundr. iran. Philol.* 1, 1, 320, n. 3, and *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 25 (where the meaning "ur-" i.e. "original," is assigned), compares with Arabic *qādīm*, but the latter seems doubtful. Bartholomae, "Über ein sasan. Rechtsbuch," in *Sitzungsb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1910, p. 21, note (\*), assumed for a time the meaning "antiquitus," but without venturing to transcribe the word, though giving various occurrences of it in Phl., including ShGV. 4, 76, 89; 16, 8, 89; yet later he adopted 'all' as a rendering (see end of this paragraph). In these same ShGV. passages West, *SBE.* 24, 135, 136, 249, cf. 143, gives "rudimentary," but latest (*SBE.* 47, 120) "ancient." Neryosang (cf. West, *Shikand-gūmānik Vijār*, p. 254, *xāmast*, *hāmist*, with which compare Pāz. *hamāē* "ever, perpetually," yet see Bthl., *Sas. Rechtsbuch*, p. 21, n.) renders by Skt. *prabhṛti*, *ādi*. The word *k adm n* is Semitic in origin. It would be hazardous to transcribe as *kāīm*(ō) and compare it with Pers. Arab. *qā'im*, "standing, firm, constant, abiding, established, permanent" (cf. Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 950), with the idea of "fundamental." In such event the phrase *dārišn ī kāīm* (?) would denote "fundamental ownership, established possession, permanent holding"—a development from the basic conception of "primary" or "primal." Mānī's adverse views on the subject of owning property are well known and antedate Mazdak. But on the whole I decide to follow Bharucha, *Phl.-Paz.-Eng. Glossary*, Bombay, 1912, p. 291, who gives "*kād-a*, non-Ir., each, every, any"; the meaning "every, or any, possession" would suit here. Similarly, for the meaning 'all,' compare Bartholomae, *Zum sas. Recht.*, 3, p. 39 (*Sitzb. Heidelberger Ak. Wiss.*, 1920, No. 18), who reads throughout (p. 29-41) as *hāmist*, and translates by 'zusammen, alle, alles.' [As a further instance we may probably

add from Dk. 5, 3 (ed. Madan, 2, 433) *kāda* (*hāmist*) *ramān* 'all the flocks (congregations),' though West, *SBE.* 47, 120, there again translates by 'ancient.'—In conclusion (cf. also my note above on ShGV. 16, 8, in Study VI, we seem entitled to accept the rendering adopted above for our *dārišn ī kāda* (*hāmist*) 'the holding of all (things, i.e. possessions)'.—6. *anāftan*: See above, § 6, n. 4.—7. *awasīhīnītan*: See above, § 3, n. 6, where the Phl. spelling in the text differs slightly from the spelling here, though the meaning is in both cases the same.

8.—1. *gētī*: Perhaps to be read as *stī*, cf. Bthl., *Zum AirWb.*, p. 80, n. 1.—2. *būnēdātak* = *būdātak*: Although the former writing is found in both occurrences of the word in this paragraph in the two editions, the transcription as *būdātak* is preferable (cf. also Freiman, *WZKM.* 20, 240, n. 2); an etymological explanation as a derivative of \**būnē* (loc.) *dāta* has been proposed by Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 25, yet we have the familiar *būdahišn*. [See, furthermore, the note above on ShGV. 16, 4 n. 7, in Study VI, regarding the Pāzand transliteration of the plur. *bunyaštagā*. In our present *būnēdātak* we may probably best regard the *ē* as the indistinct or anaptyctic vowel ('Murmelvokal'), which is to be recognized so often].—3. *parkār*: NP. *pargār* "circle," see Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, p. 39, and compare Av. *pairikara*; the orb of the earth is here intended.—4. *stūn ī Kūndag*: Lit. "the column of Kūndag." Kūndag is the well-known Avestan demon Kunda, Kundi (Vd. 11, 9, 12 = Phl. Vd. 11, 26, 35; Vd. 19, 41 = Phl. Vd. 19, 138; Bd. 28, 42), who is especially alluded to in ShGV. 16, 10–20, in connexion with Manichæan heretical beliefs which the author anathematizes. The passage thus interpreted throws new light upon Manichæan studies, especially in connexion with the story of the flayed Archontes in Theodore bar Khoni's Scholia and elsewhere; see Pognon, *Coupes de Khouabir*, p. 188, and consult the references in Cumont, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne*, pp. 23–9, 69–75. Cf. now also my note on this in *JAOS.* (1923), 43, 24–25. [Cf. also above, Study VI, p. 184].

9.—1. *ēabun* (*hēr*, *xēr*): Cf. Unvalla, *King Khusrau and Boy*, § 5 and p. 93, No. 598, Paris, [1921 ?] = Vienna, 1917.—2. *gētī*: Cf. § 8, n. 1.—3. *Yazdān* or *Yazātān*: Written in an abridged

form, as usual, and used in the plural to include Ormazd and his angels (*īzads*), cf. likewise § 12; see Freiman, *WZKM.* 20, 237, n. 1.—4. *šadkūnā* (*hištan*): Regarding this verb and the disguised Phl. ending *-ā*, with its variants and several values (e.g. *hišt*, *hištan*, *hileš*, *hilešd*) see Bthl., *WZKM.* 27, 357.—5. *apāyistan* or *awāyastan* *ī vinās*: Lit. “to be a necessity of sin,” i.e. conduce to sin (quite Manichæan); Mn. here has *apāstan*. On the verb *apāyastan* see Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 14, 16, 24, 25, and regarding the *ī* (which is written attached to the verb in PtS., though lacking in Mn.) as following the infin. see notes above, § 2, n. 3, end; § 7, n. 1.—6. *ap-aš* (= *ū-š*): Transl. “and its”; on this conjunction (*ū*, written *ap*) followed by the enclitic pron. *-š*, as often in Phl., see Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 5, n. 1 (with references); similarly West, *apaš* “and his,” in *Grundr. iran. Philol.*, 2, 84, line 44; 2, 85, line 4; observe that PtS. has *ū* unnecessarily prefixed to this word; it is lacking in Mn. and is also not found in the Pāz. of PtS., which gives simply “*ašaš*.” Cf. furthermore § 10, end.—7. *bažak-kar*: TPhl. *bazakar*, cf. Salemann, *Man. Stud.* i, p. 61; PtS. here has *bažakgar*.

10.—1. *ī*: Mn. has *ī*; PtS. omits.—2. *mēnōg*: PtS. inserts (*čabun*) in parentheses after this word.—3. *ī*: Mn. has *ī*; PtS. omits.—4. *arāstakih*: So Mn.; PtS. has *arāstīh*.—5. *ap-aš* (= *ū-š*): See § 9, n. 6, and cf. West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 14, “and thereby.”—6. *hūhēmēt* (?): Both editions have *an adm di n*, and the reading and meaning of the element *hēm* or *xēm* “nature, character” are certain, because the word occurs elsewhere in BkPhl. compounds; compare also TPhl. *abrāst-hēm*, “of perverted nature” (S. 9, c, 26), NP. *xīm*, and Av. *kaya-*, see Horn, *NP. Ety.*, § 516; Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, p. 59. The explanation of the form *hēmēt* or *xēmēt* seems less simple, although the word in a derivative sense is itself preserved in a proper name in the Phl. Rivāyat of “the saintly Hēmēt” (West, *Gdr. iran. Phil.*, 2, 105). In any case, the parallelism with *bōxtišnīh* demands an abstract; “good character” (?) is adopted in the translation. It might be tempting to propose an emended reading *hūhēm[ih] ast*; the change of construction from the preceding infinitive to the finite pres. *ast* “is” would be warranted by the change in the thought and paralleled in §§ 12, 13. [*Proofsheet correction.*—

Perhaps it is better to transcribe as *hū-ēmēt*, in the sense of "good hope," with *ēmēt* for *ōmēt*, see Junker, *Frahang i Pahlavik*, p. 80, for references; and cf. Dk. 9, 30, 5, ed. D. D. P. Sanjana, vol. xvii, p. 92 (text), p. 70 (transl.).] The polemical statement made against Mānī in this paragraph is wholly without foundation.—7. *bōxtišnīh-ič*: Before this Mn. has *ū*, which is rightly not found in PtS. [Cf. above, Study VI § 9 and note 8 end].

11.—1. *tan ī drūž*: Mn. omits *ī*; in that case to be taken as a compound, *tan-drūž* "embodied fiend." Either way the polemic correctly represents the Manichæan attitude towards the human body.

12.—1. *Yazdān* or *Yazatān*: See § 9, n. 3.—2. *yehvūnēt (bavēt)*: See § 4, n. 4.—3. *bastak*: The idea of the divine particles of light having been taken captive by the powers of darkness and imprisoned in the body is wholly Manichæan; it is often alluded to in the Turfan Fragments (e.g. S. 9 recto, a 14-22) and elsewhere, cf. Cumont, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne*, p. 19.—4. *ast*: Cf. Bthl., *WZKM.* 29, 23; but see id. 29, 2, n. 2, on doubts as to the supposed existence of an infin. *astan*, *hastan*. See also above, § 10, n. 6 on *ast*.

13.—1. *'ē ū 'ē*: So the manuscripts read, and there is no authority for PtS. to alter the text to *Vēh Dēn* "Good Religion" either here or in the preceding chapter, Dk. 3, 199, 13, where the identical phrase, *'ē ū 'ē dēn (andar) 'ē ū 'ē*, occurs, meaning lit. "one and one among one and one," i.e. one with another, or individually and collectively. For a somewhat similar collocation compare NP. *yak nah yak* "one or another" (Steingass, p. 1535), *yak bi yak* "one by one."—2. *našša (xvēš) tan*: Lit. "one's own body, himself," pl. "themselves"; PtS. erroneously has a conjunction *ū* before *tan*.—3. *vīrāstan*: Lit. "to arrange, put in order, restore, make perfect." The whole sentence runs parallel with Ātūrpāt's injunction in the preceding chapter, Dk. 3, 199, 13: *jināk (vyāk or gyāk) 'ē ū 'ē dēn (andar) 'ē ū 'ē našša (xvēš) barā (bē) vīrāyēt ap(= ū)-tān hamāk gēhān vīrāst yehvūnēt (bavēt)* "make ye yourselves, one with another, the region perfect, and by you the whole world will be made perfect." This formulates the Zoroastrian conception of a regeneration of the world (Av. *ahūm frašəm kar-*, *frašōkərəti*, etc.). The author of ShGV. 16,

48-50, using terms kindred to those in this passage, declares that the Manichæans affirm that "this world will be finally destroyed (*višōwihēt*) and not arranged again (*ārāyihēt*), nor will there be a restoration (*vīrāstārīh*) of the dead (and) a future body." While the statements both of the Dēnkart and of the Shikand-Gūmānik Vijār are in general true with regard to Mānī's views on this point, particularly with reference to any physical regeneration of the world, there still is found in one Turfan Fragment, S. 9 b 15-16, an allusion to the spiritual "resurrection of the good-fated soul" (*giyān 'īg nēvbaxt rštāhēz*).—4. *akōrē* or *hakūrē*: Both editions have *ak n rē n*, which is found elsewhere written also *agarē* or *agarē*, cf. NP. *hargiz*, see Horn, *Neupers. Etymol.*, p. 244, No. 1092; regarding the regular employment of the negative [*ā* (*nē*)] after this word, except in Phl. translations from the Avesta, consult West and Haug, *Glossary*, p. 31; incidentally cf. Bartholomae, 'Zur Kenntnis . . . V,' p. 30 line 12, in *Sb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1923, Abh. 3.—5. *vīrāstār*: See above, note 3.—6. *yehvūnēt*: See § 4, n. 4; § 12, n. 2.—7. *ātūr*: This allusion is a correct reference to the well-known Manichæan doctrine of the final conflagration, lasting 1,468 years, by which the world is to be destroyed; it is called *Adūr Vazurg* "the Great Fire" in the Turfan Fragments, M. 470, caption (= Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, ii, p. 19); see, furthermore, Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 90, 236, 237-9, 397; Kessler, *Mani*, pp. 353, 393.—8. *višōwihēt*: Similarly Pāz. *vašōwihēt* in ShGV. 16, 48 (cf. note 3, above; also Salemann, *Ein Bruchstück*, p. 20); the radical of this verb (Av. *xšub-*, Skt. *kṣubh-*) is likewise found in TPhl., for example, S. 9 a 2, *āšūb* "confusion, disorder."

August, 1922.



PART IV  
THEODORE BAR KHONI ON  
MĀNĪ'S TEACHINGS TRANS-  
LATED FROM THE SYRIAC  
WITH NOTES





## STUDY VIII

THEODORE BAR KHONI (c. 800 A.D.)

### ON MĀNĪ'S TEACHINGS CONCERNING THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD

TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC BY DR. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, WITH NOTES BY  
A. V. W. JACKSON<sup>1</sup>

The present excerpt is confined to the section in Theodore bar Khoni's *Book of Scholia* (about 791-792 A.D.) that deals mostly with Mānī's teachings concerning the beginning of the world. It does not include bar Khoni's preceding short account of the life of Mānī according to the then current Christian tradition (cf. Pognon, p. 125-126; 181-184). For our passage, consult: text ed. Pognon, p. 127-131; transl. p. 184-187; compare likewise transl. Cumont, *Recherches*, I. p. 7-42; see also text of Theodore bar Khoni, ed. A. Scher, in *Corpus Script. Christ. Orien-*

<sup>1</sup>[In connection with this particular chapter I desire to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to the late Rev. Dr. Abraham Yohannan, a recognized authority in Syriac and other Oriental languages, who was for many years my assistant at Columbia University. In the Christmas Holidays of 1920, he made for me a preliminary translation of this text, and during our conferences together throughout the next five years, in which my colleague Prof. Richard Gottheil often most kindly shared, he made a careful revision of the rendering, left in its present form in October 1925, when he was taken ill with pneumonia and died on November 9, 1925. He had gone over with me almost all the notes that are appended. Square brackets [ ] indicate the additions that have been made since his death. The dedication of this volume to his memory shows my long and devoted regard for him.—A. V. W. J.]

*talium*, 2d series, vol. 66, p. 313-318, Paris, 1912). [Consult later the German translation, with notes, by H. H. Schaefer, *Studien* (with R. Reitzenstein), p. 342-347, Leipzig and Berlin, 1926]. The transliteration in general follows that adopted by the late Dr. Yohannan; it is hoped that some slight inconsistencies may be excused. [Post-script, 1930. For help in reading the proofsheets of this chapter (Study VIII) and also for some scholarly suggestions in this connection, I am greatly indebted to my onetime student at Columbia University, Dr. Ralph Marcus, now Professor in the Jewish Institute of Religion, N. Y. My thanks for his assistance are warmly acknowledged. With regard to transliteration, Dr. Yohannan's transcription of the Syriac spirant letters *b*, *d*, *g*, *p*, etc. by *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, etc. has been retained, but Professor Marcus gives me reasons for adopting *š* instead of *sh*; he also prefers the spelling *-aw*, *-ay*, instead of *-āw*, *-āi*, together with the use of certain 'raised' letters and diacritical signs (° ' °'), which Dr. Yohannan had not regularly employed when working with me more than a half decade ago. The transcribed words in the translation and notes below will indicate such points sufficiently].

*Pognon*, text p. 127 line 1, tr. p. 184; *Cumont*, tr. p. 7;  
[*Schaefer*, tr. p. 342]

'Regarding his (i.e. Mānī's) Erratic Teaching.'

'It is necessary that we should set down in this book a little of the false<sup>2</sup> teaching and blasphemy of the impious Mānī to put to shame the faces of the Manichaeans, because:

He (Mānī) says that there were Two Principles (lit. 'Natures'),<sup>3</sup> the one Good and the other Evil, before the

<sup>2</sup> Syr. *bedyā*, 'spurious, inane' (used often of heretical teachings).

<sup>3</sup> Syr. *k'yānīn*. [Regarding the philosophic import of the Syriac word *k'yānā* = *phōus*, see Schaefer, *Ursprung . . . des manich. Systems* (1927), p. 77 n. 2.]

existence of the heaven and the earth and all that therein is. The Good Principle (lit. 'Nature') dwelt in the Region of Light,<sup>4</sup> and he calls Him the Father of Greatness.<sup>5</sup> And they (i.e. the Manichaeans) say that outside of (or beside) Him there dwell His (Five) Glories (or 'habitations, tabernacles')<sup>6</sup>—(namely) (1) Intelligence (or 'Mind'), (2) Knowledge, (3) Reason, (4) Thought, (5) Deliberation.<sup>7</sup> And the Evil Principle (lit. 'Nature') he calls the King of

<sup>4</sup> Syr. 'athrā d'ēnūhrā, lit. 'country (or place) of Light.'

<sup>5</sup> Syr. 'Abhā d'Rabbūthā, 'Father of Greatness, Grandeur, Majesty' (= Great Father). Although that is a Semitic idiom the same expression, by transfer, is found in a Turfan Pahlavi Fragment which speaks of the Supreme Being as Pīd 'i Vazurgū, 'Father of Greatness,' see Frag. M. Pers. i. 4, Müller, in *Sitzb. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1904, p. 350. Compare the Greek Formula of Abjuration, Πατήρ τοῦ Μεγέθους, see Kessler, *Mani*, p. 403 top.

<sup>6</sup> Syr. š'khīnāthā (plur.) 'The Shekinahs.' This word in the singular (š'khīnthā) means 'dwelling, tent, tabernacle' and also 'glory, majesty,' and it is used in the Syriac version of the Old Testament to denote the divine glory, or presence of God between the cherubim. Compare especially the notes by Cumont (and Kugener), *Recherches*, p. 9 n. 4, 5 and p. 104 n. 4. The significant likeness between this designation and the term in Turfan Pahlavi, *parēhān* (*farēhān*), *paraḥān*, 'glories,' requires consideration in a different connection, cf. second paragraph of note on S. 7 a 9, above, p. 136 mid., and especially on S. 7 b 11 (on *farēhagān*, p. 141).

<sup>7</sup> Syr. (1) *haunā*, (2) *madd'ā*, (3) *re'yānā*, (4) *maḥšabhtā*, (5) *tār'ūthā*. These designations of the fivefold group of intellectual characteristics that form an inherent part of the Supreme Being have been variously translated by modern scholars, particularly as they appear in all the old sources (Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, including the Manichaean texts in Turfan Pahlavi, Turkish, Chinese). Regarding the Syriac words look up the valuable short book by F. C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, p. 33, Cambridge, 1925; and Burkitt's previous excellent small notes in the translation of the Acts of Thomas by M. R. Rhodes, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 378, cf. 376, Oxford, 1924. [See later, with tables of this pentad group in the various languages, Schaeder, *Studien* (1926), p. 285, 343; Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (1926), p. 42].

Darkness, and he says that he dwelt in his Dark Earth in his five worlds (*'āl<sup>e</sup>maw*)—(namely) (1) the world of smoke, (2) the world of fire, (3) the world of wind, (4) the world of waters, (5) the world of darkness.

*Pognon, p. 127, tr. 185; Cumont, p. 11; [Schaefer, p. 343]*

He says that when the King of Darkness deliberated (*ethra''i*) upon ascending to the region (*'athrā*) of Light, those Five Glories trembled.<sup>7a</sup> And he says that then the Father of Greatness deliberated (*ethra''i*) and said, "I will not send (any) of the Five Glories from these Five Worlds (*'āl<sup>e</sup>may*) of mine to the war, because they have been created by me for tranquility and peace, but I myself will go and make this fight."<sup>7b</sup>

He says that the Father of Greatness evoked (*q<sup>e</sup>rā*)<sup>8</sup> the Mother of Life;<sup>9</sup> and the Mother of Life evoked the

<sup>7a</sup> A reminiscence of this original invasion, but applied symbolically to the entrance of evil into the human soul, is preserved in the Chinese Manichaeon Treatise, *JA*. 1911, p. 546, which refers to what came to pass "lorsque, pour la première fois, le démon de la convoitise d'écida d'en valir le monde de la lumière."

<sup>7b</sup> [Schaefer, *Studien*, p. 343 n. 1, was the first to point out that this monologue of the Supreme Deity is in metrical form, comprising five verses, each with three accents. Consult also his translation].

<sup>8</sup> This verb is designedly chosen and used correctly since the Manichaeans avoided any word, like 'begot' or 'created,' that might imply sexual generation in bringing forth Heavenly Beings; they were 'called' or 'evoked' into existence. Cf. also Cumont, p. 14 n. 4. [The presumed exception which Scheftelowitz has sought to find in *z' y y d* (*zāyēd*) in T. III 260<sup>a</sup> ll. 5, 6, 50 (see *Zt. f. Ind. u. Iran.* (1926), 4. 318 n. 1; cf. *Oriens Christianus* (1927), 3te Ser. 1. p. 280, 281) does not seem to me correct, because that passage refers to the birth of Adam and of the human race, who were actually 'born.' The case therefore differs from the primal celestial evocations, here described, which were in reality 'called forth.']

<sup>9</sup> Syr. *'emmā d'ḥayyē*. Concerning the Mother of Life (lit. of the Living) consult my observations in *JAOS*. 44. p. 62 (reprinted below, Study X).

Primal Man;<sup>10</sup> and the Primal Man evoked his Five Sons (*b<sup>e</sup>naw*),<sup>11</sup> just as a man who puts on<sup>12</sup> armor for war.

He also says that an Angel, whose name is *N ḥ š b ṭ*,<sup>13</sup> went out before him,<sup>14</sup> holding in his hand a crown of

<sup>10</sup> Syr. *'nāšā qadmāyā*, lit. 'first man, ancient man.'

<sup>11</sup> These 'Five Sons,' who are also spoken of below as the 'Five Luminous Gods,' are the well-known Five Elements, namely 'Zephyr (i.e. gentle breeze = Ether), Wind, Light, Water, and Fire,' and they appear in all the Manichaean sources as discussed elsewhere, compare especially the note on *Amahrāspandān* in S. 9 a 11 in Study III, above.

<sup>12</sup> Syr. *lābheš*, lit. 'wears.' We are familiar with the panoply formed of the elements for use by Primal Man (e.g. in Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 7.4; 10.2, ed. Beeson, p. 10, p. 15; also in the Fihrist, tr. Flügel, p. 87, with notes 95-96). Consult also the remarks above on TPhl. *zēn* in S. 9 a 11 and S. 8 b 1.

<sup>13</sup> The name of this Angel, generally read as *Nahashbat*, is a problem. Whatever the correct vocalization may be, he is to be identified with *Στεφανηφόρος*, 'the Crown-bearer,' who is mentioned directly after Primal Man and before the Virgin of Light, in the Greek Formula of Abjuration, cf. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 360, 403. As a mere guess Yohannan suggested the possibility of reading *N ḥ š b ṭ* as *Nehšbet*, 'Lord of Augury(?)', taking it as a hybrid compound from Syr. *nehšā*, 'augury, divination' (with the dropping of final *ā*), and connecting the final element with TPhl. *-bēd*, 'lord,' cf. Armen. *pet*. This, however, was only a conjecture, even though the recognition of augury and of omens from birds appears not to have been foreign to Manichaeism. Some evidence of this fact may be adduced from the name and title of a sainted Manichaean *Yasan Murwa Xoši*, 'Yasan, the Master (or Teacher) of Omens,' as found on a mural painting recovered from Khojo in the oasis of Turfan; see Le Coq, *Die manich. Miniaturen*, p. 35 bot., and cf. Bang, in *Muséon*, 37. 114; compare also BkPhl. *murv-vēhān*, 'those wise in omens, augurs,' Bartholomae, 'Zur Kenntnis . . . mittelliran. Mundarten V,' p. 19 bot., in *Sb. Heidelber. Ak. Wiss.*, February, 1923. [A new suggestion has been made later by C. H. Kraeling, *Anthropos and Son of Man*, p. 20 n. 23. This is to read the name of the Angel as '*Nahash-shebet*' (assuming the *shin* is doubled) and explain as a personification of the "snake-staff," the Manichaeans having interpreted the jagged representation of the lightning-bolt as a lance.]

<sup>14</sup> That is, in order to meet (and receive) him.

victory. And he says that Primal Man spread before himself the light,<sup>14a</sup> and when the King of Darkness saw it he deliberated (*ethra* 'i) and said, "The thing which I was seeking from afar I have found near by." Thereupon the Primal Man gave himself<sup>15</sup> and his Five Sons (*b<sup>e</sup>naw*)<sup>16</sup> as food<sup>17</sup> to the Five Sons of Darkness, just as a man who has an enemy mixes deadly poison in a cake and gives it to him.

*Pognon, p. 127, 186; Cumont, p. 18; [Schaeder, p. 343]*

And he says, that when they (i.e. Sons of Darkness) had eaten<sup>18</sup> (*'ekhal* <*ū*>) these<sup>18</sup> (Elemental Sons of Primal

<sup>14a</sup> [Schaeder, p. 343 mid., takes the angel here as subject: 'Er verbreitete Licht vor dem Urmenschen (l. *dnāšā*).']

<sup>15</sup> Syr. *naphšēh*, 'soul, self.' Possibly 'soul' would be better, as the Acta Archelai, 7.3 (ed. Beeson, p. 10) says 'the Archons devoured part of his panoply, which is the soul.' See note 18 below.

<sup>16</sup> The term 'Five Sons' (*b<sup>e</sup>naw*) of Primal Man, as employed here and below, is one of the Manichaean designations for the Five Elements (spiritual, mental, physical). It is applied thus in the Turkish Manichaean Confession-Prayer, 1.8 (Berlin Ms.) as 'the Sons (*oγlanī*) of the God Khurmuzta (= Primal Man)'; and again, *ibid.* (London Ms.) line 33, 'against the Five-gods, Sons of the God Khurmuzta' (see Le Coq, *Khuastuanist*, in *JRAS.* 1911, p. 280, 284, and *Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.* for 1910 (Berlin, 1911), p. 8; also compare Le Coq's remarks in his *Türk. Manich.* 1. p. 57. Similarly the Chinese Manichaean Treatise, in Chavannes and Pelliot's French translation (*JA.* 1911, p. 519), speaks of 'les cinq fils lumineux de Sien-yi' (i.e. of Primal Man), and again of his 'cinq fils' (*op. cit.* p. 559). The translation 'Sons' seems therefore preferable to 'Trabanten' as adopted for the Turkish by W. Bang, *Muséon*, 36. p. 145, 149, 172-175.

<sup>17</sup> Syr. *l<sup>e</sup>mēkhūlhā*, 'for food.' The idea that Primal Man sacrificed his Five Bright Elements as a bait to ensnare the Sons of Darkness is made more clear by Ephraim Syrus, tr. Mitchell, 1. p. lxix, lxxix, and appears likewise in the word *δέλεα*, 'bait,' similarly employed by Titus of Bostra 1.17 (ed. Lagarde, p. 9) and by Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Haeret. Fabul. Compendium*, 1.26, cf. Cumont and Kugener, *Recherches*, 2. p. 152, 156.

<sup>18</sup> I.e. had swallowed these five primordial elements (see note above). The Syriac verb *'ekhal*, 'ate,' is appropriately chosen as proved by

Man), the intelligence (*haunā*, 'mind, sense') of the Five Luminous<sup>19</sup> Gods was taken from them and, by reason of

other allusions to the Manichaean doctrine that the powers of Darkness 'devoured' or 'swallowed' the elements of Light with which Primal Man was armed. Well known are such allusions as Hege- monius, *Acta Archelai*, 7.4 (ed. Beeson, p. 10), 'The Rulers of Darkness (*οἱ τοῦ σκοτεινῆς ἀρχόντες*) contending with him (i.e. Primal Man) devoured (*ἐφαγον*) part of his panoply (*πανοπλίας*), which is the soul'; also Ephraim Syrus (tr. Mitchell, I. p. lxix, lxxix; furthermore, Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 13.18 (ed. Migne, *PL.* 42. 293), 'the Light devoured by Darkness' (*lucem a tenebris devorata*); similarly in an-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (Flügel, *Mani*, p. 54, 16, transl. p. 87 bot.-88 top) Iblis 'swallowed part of his Light' (*istaraṭa min nūrihi*), i.e. of Primal Man. Less known (but cited with the full context above, Study VI) is the Sasanian (Pahlavi) Pāzand book *Shikand-Gūmānīg Vīzhār* (9th century A.D.), 16.22, 'that light which the Demons had swallowed' (Pāz. *ā rōšanī i dēwā hupārd* (= *ōwārt*), and *op. cit.* 16. 16-17, 'the Demon Kūnī, the army-commander of Ahriman, who, (in) the first conflict, swallowed (*hupārd* = *ōwārt*) the light robbed from the God Ormazd by his nails.'

<sup>19</sup> Syr. *ḥamšā 'alāhē sīwānē*. This expression (as also twice below) is simply another designation of the 'Five Sons' (i.e., the elements, commented on above in n. 16). The Chinese treatise, besides calling them the 'Five Luminous Sons' (see above, n. 16), terms them likewise the 'Five Luminous Bodies' (*JA.* 1911, p. 512, 514, 515, 522, 559). Owing to the Chinese epithet 'Luminous' and because the Turkish Confession Prayer refers to the host of heaven in general as the 'Light Gods' (*yaruq tāngrilār*, see Bang, *Muséon*, 36. p. 144, 166, and cf. Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 281, 299), besides being in harmony with the whole spirit of Manichaeism, I believe that the commonly accepted meaning 'luminous, bright, splendid' is to be retained for Syr. *sīwānē* (pl.). For that reason I have abandoned my view of several years ago that *sīwānā* (sg.) might mean 'Living,' connected with TPhl. *šīwandag*, BkPhl. *sīwandag*, etc., 'living,' and regarded as an Iranian word borrowed by Syriac writers on Manichaeism. Recently, and quite independently, Professor Burkitt (*Religion of the Manichees*, p. 110-111, Cambridge, 1925) raised the question similarly as to whether *sīwānā* might not be an adaptation of the Middle Persian *šīwandag*, and mean 'living' rather than 'brilliant,' but the evidence given above is against it. [Against it likewise, W. and L., *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 36, 118 bis].

the venom<sup>20</sup> of the Sons of Darkness, they became like unto a man who is bitten by a mad dog or a snake.<sup>21</sup>

And he says<sup>21a</sup> that when Primal Man regained his senses (lit. 'mind,' Syr. *haunā*) he raised a prayer seven times to the Father of Greatness (i.e. the Godhead),

*Pognon, p. 127 end, p. 128 top, tr. p. 186;*

*cf. Cumont, p. 20; [Schaefer, p. 343]*

and He evoked the Second Evocation,<sup>22</sup> (namely),<sup>23</sup> the Friend of Light;<sup>23a</sup> and the Friend of Light evoked the Great Bān<sup>23b</sup> (Builder); and the Great

<sup>20</sup> The Syriac here (as above and again below) employs the word *zahrā*, 'venom' (used also in Arabic), which is really of Iranian origin (\**yathra*, \**zathra*, 'a means to death'), compare N.P. *zahr*, 'poison,' and TPhl. [*sa*]*rḥīg*, 'poisonous,' as noted above in M. 99 d 23, Study II, n. 106. See likewise, Horn, *Neupers. Etymologie*, p. 150 § 678, and Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 71.

<sup>21</sup> Compare the vivid description in the Chinese Treatise of the sufferings of the five luminous elements when they were imprisoned in the carnal body of man, the microcosm, *JA*. 1911, p. 530-531. Furthermore, see above, S. 9 a 16-20.

<sup>21a</sup> More literally, 'And he says that the Primal Man regained his senses and he prayed, etc.' See also n. 22.

<sup>22</sup> Concerning the 'Second Evocation' and its importance, see Jackson, *JRAS.*, *Cent. Suppl.* 1924, p. 137-155 (cf. Study X, below). A still more literal translation of the Syriac phrase in this passage from Theodore bar Khoni would be (so Dr. Yohannan) 'he wished (petitioned) in prayer from the Father of Greatness, seven times.' The significance of this prayer by Primal Man for the future of mankind is well known in Mānī's teachings.

<sup>23</sup> For further discussion of each of these three celestial figures, with full references, see Jn. *op. cit.* p. 138-155 (reprinted below in Study X).

<sup>23a</sup> The Syriac *ḥabbībḥ nahīrē* is lit. 'beloved of the lights' (pl.). For a similar expression in TPhl. see below, Study X, p. 273.

<sup>23b</sup> Regarding the Great Bān, Pognon in his translation (p. 187 n. 1 and 2) suggests as an alternative 'the Great Laban'; but the *lē* in his text before *B(a)n* is merely the sign of the accusative, as before *ḥabbībḥ* and *rūḥā*. The Berlin Ms. (see Kugener, in Cumont, p. 77 mid.) has *lēmān*, but Kugener notes the reading as faulty.



Bān evoked the Living Spirit.<sup>23</sup> The Living Spirit also evoked his<sup>24</sup> Five Sons, (namely), (1) the Custody of Splendor<sup>25</sup> from his Intelligence, (2) the Great King of Honor from his Knowledge, (3) the Adamas of Light from his Reason, (4) the King of Glory from his Thought, (5) and (lit. 'but') the Supporter from his Deliberation.

(*Pognon*, p. 128, 187; *Cumont*, p. 24; [*Schaeder*, p. 344]).

These<sup>26</sup> came to the Earth (land) of Darkness and found Primal Man, himself and his Five Sons, swallowed (*b'li'*) by the Darkness. The Living Spirit then called with his Voice, and the Voice<sup>27</sup> of the Living Spirit was like (or took on the semblance of)<sup>28</sup> a sharp sword, and it (i.e. the

<sup>24</sup> The Syriac pronoun here and also below is in the masculine owing to *rūhā* (here masc.). As remarked elsewhere, sex plays no rôle in the Manichaean conceptions of its Celestial Beings.

<sup>25</sup> Syr. (in the order above): (1) *ṣaphath sīwā*; (2) *malkā rabbā d'iqārā*; (3) *Ādāmōs nūhrā*; (4) *m'lekh šūbhā*; (5) *sabbālā*(?). For each of these names, with annotations and discussions, see the special chapter below devoted to this subject of the Five Sons of the Living Spirit (Study XI).

<sup>26</sup> Lit. 'and they.' From the *Fihrist* we know that the Friend of Light, as an envoy, was instrumental in at least loosening the bonds of darkness by which Primal Man was encompassed, and from other sources (cf. below, Study IX) that the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit united in restoring him to his celestial abode; see references by the present writer in *JAOs*. (1924) 44. p. 64 and *JRAS.*, *Cent. Suppl.* 1924, p. 144 mid. (reprinted in Studies XIII and X respectively).

<sup>27</sup> The 'voice,' or call of the Living Spirit is to be identified with the Appellant (below) or *Khrūshtag* as the name appears in equivalent forms in Turkish and Chinese Manichaean documents. Cf. note 36 below.

<sup>28</sup> Syr. *ethdammi*, lit. 'likened itself to' (reflexive), i.e. took on the semblance of. For this image of the Living Spirit's 'voice' (important in Manichaeism) see the observations below (in Study IX) on the parallel passage in the *Fihrist* relating to the Rescue of Primal Man.

Voice)<sup>29</sup> revealed the form (*ṣūrtēh*) of the Primal Man<sup>29a</sup> and said unto him, "Peace be unto thee, the righteous one in the midst of the wicked, the luminous one<sup>30</sup> in the midst of darkness, the God dwelling in the midst of the beasts of fury who have no sense of their honor."<sup>30a</sup> Thereupon Primal Man responded to him and said to him,<sup>31</sup> "Come thou for the peace of the one who is dead!<sup>32</sup> Come, O thou treasure of tranquility and peace!" And he (i.e. Primal Man, furthermore) said to him,<sup>33</sup> "How are our

<sup>29</sup> The action (*gēlā*, vb., masc. to agree with *qālā*, 'voice') is to be interpreted as referring to the personified call of the Living Spirit. See remarks above in note 24. So also I later find in Reitzenstein, *Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 9, and cf. p. 8.

<sup>29a</sup> Similarly also Pognon and Cumont, the image or form 'of.' [Somewhat different is the interpretation by Schaefer, p. 263 mid., 344 top, 'und (er) enthüllte (*glā*) seine Gestalt (*ṣūrtā*) dem Urmenschen.' In his footnote (p. 344 n. 2) Schaefer remarks that he has emended Pognon's text '*ṣūrtēh dnāšā*' into '*ṣūrtēh*.' I have abided by Yohannan's original rendering of Pognon, which represents the Living Spirit as being instrumental through his Voice in locating the position of Primal Man, amid the darkness].

<sup>30</sup> Syr. *nahīrā*, perhaps 'luminary' is more exact. [Schaefer, p. 344, indicates that the dialogue here is in metrical form].

<sup>30a</sup> Perhaps a reminiscence of the same idea, symbolically, of the 'wild beasts' (*dāmdādān*) in Hell, mutually devouring each other, is found in the North-Iranian TPhl. Frag. T. II, D 178, W. and L. *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 112 bot., 113 top.

<sup>31</sup> The reference is to the Living Spirit, though more likely to his voice personified as the Appellant, for the two blend together as one. Cf. note 39 below; also Study IX, p. 261-262.

<sup>32</sup> The reading of the Berlin Ms. differs here slightly from the manuscripts used by Pognon, as noted by Cumont, p. 77 l. 12, and p. 24, n. 4, who renders the Berlin version by 'Viens dans la paix toi qui apportes (litt.: l'apportant) une marchandise (une oeuvre) de quiétude et de paix.' Yohannan's translation above agrees practically with that of Pognon. [Simply refer to Schaefer, p. 344, 263 bot., 352, 'Schiffast (Botschaft? Brief?),' observing his own interrogation marks].

<sup>33</sup> That is, to the Appellant, or personified voice of the Living Spirit. We are to keep in mind (cf. note 31) that at this point in the

Fathers, the Sons of Light, doing <sup>34</sup> in their realm? <sup>35</sup> The Appellant <sup>36</sup> said to him, "They are doing well." <sup>37</sup> <And the Living Spirit> <sup>38</sup> And the Appellant and the Respondent joined together and ascended to the Mother of Life and dialogue Primal Man's response takes the form of a question addressed to the Voice of the Living Spirit.

<sup>34</sup> More literally, 'how have they been done to,' i.e. 'how have they been treated?'

<sup>35</sup> Lit. 'their city' (cf. Syr. *m<sup>e</sup>dhitt'hōn*). [Schaefer, p. 263 n. 3 end (perhaps unnecessarily) suggests changing the text *bamḏiithōn*, 'in ihrer Stadt,' into *baškīnāthōn*, 'in ihren Wohnungen (škinā's)'].

<sup>36</sup> Syr. *qāryā*, lit. 'caller,' i.e. the 'Appellant'; the 'Respondent' is termed in Syriac, *ānyā*, 'answerer,' in the very next sentence. The assumed TPhl. forms *xrōštag* and *padvāxtag* are deduced from the Turkish *xroštag*, *p(a)dvaxtag* (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. p. 13), and the Chinese *hu-lu-shō-tō*, *p'o-leu-huo-tō* (Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 520-521, with notes). These occur a number of times in those two sets of texts, and are fully recognized; but further treatment has to be kept for some later time. We can only allude here to TPhl. *xrōsag* (a pres. ptcpl.) in M. 32. r. 4 (= Mü. p. 62 bot.), *'ōn xrōsag vazurg*, etc., 'O thou great Calling One, who awakens this my spirit from slumber.' [Schaefer, *Studien*, p. 265-267 n. 1, vocalizes the Syriac forms in Pognon's text as *qaryā*, *'anyā*, and takes them, as also the assumable Iranian forms (deduced from Turkish and Chinese), as passive participles and translates respectively by 'Ruf' and 'Antwort.' Schaefer writes the presumed Iranian endings in both cases as *-taγ* (with short *ā*); the Turkish forms might seem rather to imply a long *ā* in the ending. The Chinese form *hu-lu-shō-tō* is given theoretically (*JA.* 1911, p. 521 n. 1) as *\*χu-lu-s'yt-tyk*. Such points belong to others to decide. Add that the pres. ptcpl. TPhl. *xrōsag*, cited above, is again now quotable in W. and L., *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 119 mid., cf. p. 36 top].

<sup>37</sup> More literally, 'They have been treated well.'

<sup>38</sup> Omit here the words 'and the Living Spirit' which the Syriac text has inserted by mistake, as was first pointed out by Cumont, p. 24 n. 5, since the Living Spirit cannot ascend to himself. It is the personified Appellant and Respondent that come up from below to unite with the Mother and the Living Spirit who are still at the Border. Further proof is given by the Turkish Fragment referred to in note 41. I have since found that this is the view taken likewise by Bang, *Le Muséon*, 36. p. 242 n. 4.

to the Living Spirit. And the Living Spirit put on (assumed)<sup>39</sup> the Appellant, and the Mother of Life put on (assumed) the Respondent,<sup>40</sup> her beloved son, and they (i.e. the Mother and the Living Spirit now) descended (*n<sup>h</sup>eth < ū >*)<sup>41</sup> to <sup>42</sup> the Earth (land) of Darkness, to where Primal Man and his Sons (were).<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> As Dr. Yohannan informed me, the Syriac verb *l<sup>e</sup>bhaš* (which Pognon, p. 188, followed by Cumont, p. 24 n. 5, translates by 'revêtir') means 'put on (as armor or apparel), clothe oneself, don'; and metaphorically 'take, assume, take possession of'; and he referred me to the metaphorical usage of the same word in the Peshitta Version of the New Testament, Coloss. 3. 10, 'ye have put on (*l<sup>e</sup>bhaš*) the new man'; similarly Ephes. 4. 24. The idea (which is characteristically Manichaeic in spirit) is that the Living Spirit takes and puts on, as a part of his own self, the Appellant which had for a time been separated from him as the voice or active word; the Mother of the Living clothes herself with the Respondent that typified a part of her own son, Primal Man. These transcendental images can be better understood through other passages in the Manichaean documents where we have the idea of mystic union.

<sup>40</sup> See preceding note, end.

<sup>41</sup> Observe that a Turkish Fragment (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. p. 13-14) in referring to this incident describes how the Appellant (*Xrōštag*) and the Respondent (*Padvāxtag*) first ascend upwards out of Hell, from Primal Man, and after that the Living Spirit and the Mother-goddess hasten to his rescue and restore him to the Heaven of the Gods; see Study IX on the Rescue of Primal Man. As indicated in that study, it is clear that at first the Living Spirit and the Mother remained at the Border; the voice of the Living Spirit was next sent as the Appellant into the depths and discovered the whereabouts of Primal Man, whose answer became the Respondent. Then these two, as Appellant and Respondent, rejoined the Living Spirit and the Mother waiting above, who then descended and together effected the rescue.

<sup>42</sup> Syr. *l<sup>e</sup>*, lit. 'to'), but the sense is 'into.' Consult the corresponding passages in the other sources translated below in Study IX.

<sup>43</sup> It should be remarked that Theodore bar Khoni omits any mention of the actual rescue of Primal Man, some details regarding which may be gathered from other sources (see Study IX). Bar Khoni proceeds directly with an account of the formation of the Cosmos.

(Pognon, p. 128, 188; Cumont, p. 27; [Schaeder, p. 344 bot.]).

Thereupon the Living Spirit <sup>41</sup> gave command to three of his Sons,<sup>45</sup> the one to kill and the other to flay the Archons,

<sup>41</sup> The Berlin manuscript rightly has 'Living Spirit,' for which Pognon's copies gave simply 'Spirit.'

<sup>45</sup> So we must interpret the Syriac 'his three Sons' as 'three of his Sons,' because the Five Sons are alluded to directly below as well as previously (see also Cumont, p. 25, n. 3). The mention here of only three of the five sons of the Living Spirit is easily explained; they are the particular three engaged in destroying the Archons or (as inferred from below and elsewhere) in taking some of them captive alive for future use. The two other sons of the Spirit, namely the Supporter (Atlas) and the Custody (?) of Splendor (Splenditenens) stand ready to assume at once, when needed, their respective tasks of upholding and keeping suspended the world. The killing of Archons was undoubtedly carried out by Adamas, the belligerent hero; the King of Glory probably did the flaying, while the King of Honor (although bar Khoni makes no mention, at this particular moment, of what was done by the third son) must have shared in the proceedings of the other two, perhaps most actively in delivering (the verb is plur.) the Archons, dead or alive, to the Mother of Life, so that these demons might be made use of when the Cosmos was established. In support of this view observe that a moment later bar Khoni says that 'after the heavens and the earths were made, the Great King of Honor sits in the midst of heaven and keeps guard over them all.' It is certain that the same active trio is referred to shortly afterwards as the 'three Servitors' by bar Khoni (see transl. below, p. 242; and cf. Pognon, p. 189, Cumont, p. 37). Furthermore they are the 'three other Powers' (*ἐτέρας τρεῖς δυνάμεις*) referred to as aiding the Living Spirit at this juncture in the description by the Acta Archelai, 8.1 (ed. Beeson, p. 11): 'Then the Living Spirit established the Cosmos and, himself (lit. 'itself') having put on (*φορέσαν*, lit. 'having borne, worn,' Lat. version *indutus*) three other Powers (and) having come down, brought up the Archons and fastened them in the firmament, which is their body, (namely) the sphere.' Notice in my translation of this passage from the Greek, that the word *ἐσταύρωσεν* (for which the Lat. version has *crucifixit*) has been Englished by 'fastened' (so also by Flügel, p. 216 bot. 'befestigte') in accordance with the regular Manichaean terms of binding and fastening the demons to the lowest heaven. Compare the expression 'bound and fettered' (TPhl. *āgūsi 'ūd gīšt*) in the Turfan Pahlavi Fragment M. 98 a, 2-4, translated above, p. 30;

the Sons of Darkness, and that they should deliver them to the Mother of the Living.<sup>46</sup> The Mother of the Living spread out the heaven with their skins<sup>47</sup> and made eleven (read 'ten')<sup>48</sup> heavens, and they<sup>49</sup> threw the bodies of

cf. also above, p. 188, the phrase 'bound to the sky' (*pa spihir bast*) in the Pāzand (Pahlavi) book *Shikand-Gūmānīk Vīzhār*, 16. 19; similarly in the Fihrist is mentioned that they 'hung' (Arab. *'alaqūhum*) them (i.e. the Demons) on high (see Flügel, p. 56 l. 10, p. 89 with n. 121, and p. 216 n. 120; also tr. Kessler, p. 391 n. 2). The Turkish Manichaean texts allude to 'binding' of the demons to the Zodiac (cf. Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. p. 15 top, 14 top; and *T.M.* 3. p. 37 mid.). [Observe that the first part of this long note seems, by anticipation, to dispose of the exclamation point (!) in Schaefer, p. 344, line 19, 'seine drei (!) Söhne.']

<sup>46</sup> See preceding note, 45.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. note 49 below.

<sup>48</sup> Pognon's Syr. text here has 'eleven' (*h'dha'sar*) while the Berlin Ms. gives 'twelve'; but the correct number of the heavens is 'ten,' and of the earths 'eight,' as shown elsewhere in the indirect Manichaean sources and in the extant documents themselves. For example, see Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 32. 19, 'octo esse terras et decem coelos' (cf. Acta Archelai 8. 1, ed. Beeson, p. 11, for 'eight forms' of the earth); likewise in the Fihrist, tr. Flügel, p. 89 with n. 125, we have 'ten heavens and eight earths.' In the Turfan Pahlavi Frag. M. 33. 11 (= Müller, 2. p. 46) 'ten heavens' (*das asmānān*) and likewise twice in the 'Dialect' Soghdian Frag. (Mü. 2. p. 97). Furthermore, in the Turkish Manichaean texts (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. p. 24 ll. 4-8) a Fragment of cosmogonic content tells how the Mother Goddess and the Living Spirit, when ready to take in hand the creation of the celestial and terrestrial world, 'made and created, first of all, the tenfold blue heaven (*on qat kök tängrig*) according to a plan,' and the text alludes directly afterwards (lines 13-15) to 'this earth and the tenfold blue heaven' (cf. also Bang, *Muséon*, 36. p. 244 n. 4 and 184 n. 1). Similarly another Turkish piece (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. p. 8 bot.), referring to creation, mentions that 'the God Vazhivanta tucked up his robe in the tenfold heaven.' Also the well-known Turkish Confession Prayer, section 3B, refers to 'the tenfold heaven above and the eightfold earth below' (cf. Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 285; Bang, *Muséon*, 36. p. 147). The Chinese Treatise (tr. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 514-516) refers to the 'ten heavens and eight earths' which the Living Spirit and the Excellent Mother established.

these to <sup>50</sup> the Earth (land) of Darkness,<sup>51</sup> and <sup>52</sup> they <sup>53</sup> made eight earths ('*ar'āthā*).<sup>54</sup> And the Five Sons were inducted,<sup>55</sup> each one <sup>55</sup> into his task. (Thus it was) the Custody (?) of

Cumont (p. 28, n. 2) draws attention to the recognition of ten heavens by the Ophites and the disciples of Battaī according to Theodore bar Khoni (tr. Pognon, p. 213, 223). Consult further, Study XII below, on allusions to the ten heavens and eight earths.

<sup>49</sup> The plural 'they' of the Syriac verb here refers to the three Sons of the Living Spirit as again most active in aiding their evoker by disposing of the bodies of those Archons that had been killed so as to be used by the Living Spirit in forming the several earths after the Mother of the Living had employed their flayed skins for making the heavens. It must be always observed that the chief agent in constructing the earths, according to Manichaeism, was the Living Spirit; see remarks above (p. 23 f.) on the Cosmological Fragment there translated. In the same general light is broadly to be considered the Syriac pronoun in the sentence 'They made the eight earths,' which immediately follows in Theodore bar Khoni above. See also note 53 below.

<sup>50</sup> The Syriac preposition here (as Yohannan stated) indicates 'to' (i.e. 'into') rather than 'upon,' although both Pognon and Cumont render it by 'sur.'

<sup>51</sup> Recall from the Cosmological Fragment M. 98-99, ll. 6-8, translated above, Study II (p. 32), that portions of the upper regions of the primordial Earth of Darkness were razed and leveled for making the eight earths.

<sup>52</sup> According to Dr. Yohannan, the Syriac manner of expression would favor rather punctuating by a period (.) here before the conjunction 'And,' as often in the King James English version of the Bible, although a semicolon or comma can be used in modern style.

<sup>53</sup> The plur. form 'they' of the verb here evidently includes the sons with the Living Spirit; they are thus regarded as assisting, even if the Living Spirit was the paramount agent. See remarks above, p. 233, n. 45.

<sup>54</sup> Concerning the Eight Earths see previously, p. 25, 72 f.; also below, Study XII.

<sup>55</sup> Syr. *ethg<sup>e</sup>mar* <ū>. We must remember from above that the particular task of two of these helpers, namely that of the Adamas of Light and the King of Glory, had been referred to as already performed. [Dr. Y. translated as, 'the Five Sons fulfilled each one his task,' etc.]

Splendor who holds<sup>56</sup> the Five Luminous Gods<sup>57</sup> by their waists; and below their waists were spread out the heavens. (It was) the Supporter (*sabbālā*) who kneels<sup>58</sup> on one knee and bears<sup>58</sup> (*ṭe'in*) the earths. The great King of Honor,<sup>59</sup> after the heavens and the earths were made, sits<sup>60</sup> in the midst of heaven and keeps guard over them all.

(*Pognon*, p. 129, 189; *Cumont*, p. 29; [*Schaeder*, p. 344 bot.])

Then the Living Spirit revealed his forms (*ṣūrāthēh*) to the Sons of Darkness<sup>61</sup>; and from the Light which had been swallowed (*bēli'*) by them from these Five Luminous Gods

<sup>56</sup> Lit. '(was or is) holding' (pass. ptcpl. with act. meaning), i.e. has kept on holding, and still holds.

<sup>57</sup> As to the 'Five Luminous (*zīwānē*) Gods,' commented upon above (p. 91) in S. 9 a 11, *Cumont* (p. 28) points out that here these mean the five beneficent elements that stayed in part in the Earth of Light while the residue had been seized by demons at the time of the great defeat of Primal Man. He furthermore observes that St. Augustine (*Contra Faust.* 15.5) uses a less crude expression than 'waists' by saying that Splenditenens 'held the heads of the elements and kept the world suspended' (*capita tenere mundumque suspendere*).

<sup>58</sup> For the force of the Syr. ptcpl., translated here as 'kneels' and 'bears,' see remark on 'holds,' above, n. 56.

<sup>59</sup> Observe that the Rex Honoris takes up his position as a guard.

<sup>60</sup> Here the text has the ptcpl. 'sitting'; so also in 'keeps guard.'

<sup>61</sup> Observe that the Living Spirit here employs the same device as that resorted to below by the (Third) Messenger, in which case also the identical expression 'revealed (uncovered, disclosed) his forms' is used; compare likewise the Greek expression in the *Acta Archelai*, 13.1 (ed. Beeson, p. 21, l. 5), *ὅταν προφάνη αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰκόνα*, 'when (the Messenger) shall reveal his image,' at the end of the world. In our present instance of the display made by the Living Spirit it should be observed that there is no allusion to any seductive influence being exerted as is done below by the Messenger, but bar Khoni may have abridged his source at this point; the account simply continues by relating that the Living Spirit purified portions of the light which had been contaminated and put the clarified essence to use in making the heavenly luminaries.



he purified <sup>62</sup> the light and made the Sun and Moon and the light (of the Stars) more than a thousand.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>62</sup> More exactly, 'strained off, distilled.'

<sup>63</sup> Syr. *nūhrā yathīr men 'alpā*. So Pognon's text in this hard passage, which Dr. Yohannan and I discussed many times, finally adopting the translation above given, though not without long consideration of the views of Cumont and Kugener, cited below. The rendering agrees in general with that of Pognon (p. 189), 'et fit le soleil, la lune et des lumières (pl. !) au nombre de plus de mille'—although Pognon unnecessarily supposes that a phrase, or perhaps an entire passage, following this, has been omitted by the copyists. Yohannan emphasized that *nūhrā*, standing here in the singular with the article, is 'the light,' i.e. of the stars, and that 'more than a thousand' is the exact translation of the Syriac phrase *yathīr men 'alpā* (sg.). In any case one may assume that the stars are alluded to. I would add that according to Alexander of Lycopolis, ch. 3 (cf. ch. 20), ed. Brinkmann, p. 6, cf. also p. 28, the sun and moon were first produced, being made of pure light, while the stars and the whole heaven were formed from light which had been moderately contaminated by evil. Recall, moreover, that in Manichaeism the stars of the Milky Way and the constellations of the Zodiac play a role in releasing the imprisoned light. In this general connection, furthermore, look up Barhebraeus, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, *Chron. Ecclesiast.* vol. 1. p. 59–61. Compare likewise the beginning lines of the Cosmological Fragment M. 98, a 1, above, Study II, p. 38 n. 1, where the seven planets are mentioned before the sun and the moon are made. In a Turkish Fragment, T. II D. 173 b<sup>1</sup> verso, line 17 (see Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. 15 top), the Zodiac is referred to in connection with the forming of the ten heavens. The ascent of the soul to the Zodiac is mentioned in T. II D. 173 b, 2, line 13 (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. 12 top).

On the other hand, instead of 'a thousand,' a different rendering, 'ships,' is proposed by Cumont, p. 29, with n. 5 (Kugener), this rendering being 'et il fit le soleil, la lune et outre ces vaisseaux, les lumières (étoiles).' The idea would be, that the stars were made 'in addition to' ('outre') the ships of the sun and moon, which latter are frequently referred to as ships in Manichaean literature. Kugener (loc. cit. n. 5) accepts the view, merely altering 'outre ces vaisseaux' into 'outre les vaisseaux,' and refers to Theodore bar Khoni's mention of 'these vessels' ('ces vaisseaux') somewhat later on (Pognon, text, p. 129 l. 20, transl. p. 190 n. 1). The Cumont-Kugener rendering

(*Pognon*, p. 129, 189; *Cumont*, p. 31; [*Schaeder*, p. 345])

He <sup>64</sup> (i.e. the Living Spirit also) made the Wheels <sup>65</sup> (namely) <sup>65a</sup> the Wind, and the Water, and the Fire; and he <sup>66</sup>

involves changing 'alḫā (sg.) 'thousand' into 'elḫē (pl.) 'ships,' by adding two dots over the word to indicate the plural, which is possible. But the Syriac usage is against taking *yāḫr men* in the sense of 'in addition to, besides' ('autre'). Moreover, as noted above, *nūhrā* (sg. with the article) is rather 'the light' than 'les lumières,' even though the light of the stars must in either case be meant. Attractive though Cumont's suggestion may be, it has regretfully failed to prove convincing.

[*Schaeder*, *op. cit.* (1926), p. 345 top, with special note 1, takes the word for light (*nūhrā*) in this sentence as applied in a twofold sense: first in the broader meaning as referring to the light-armor of Primal Man; second, in the narrower sense as referring to the terrestrial light which stands beside the other earthly elements. He translates accordingly: 'läuterte er [i.e. the Living Spirit] das Licht und machte Sonne und Mond, und aus dem Licht, das von den "Schiffen" (d.i. nach der Bildung von Sonne und Mond) übrig blieb, machte er die "Sphären" (*aggānā*): Wind, Wasser und Feuer.' His rendering merits attention.]

<sup>64</sup> Lit. 'she made'; the form of the Syr. verb 'ebhḏath is here feminine because *rūḫā* 'spirit' is used both as fem. and masc. in Syriac and examples of this interchange (e.g. in this same sentence) are found elsewhere in bar Khoni, see *Cumont*, p. 31 n. 1; and cf. note 71, below.

<sup>65</sup> Syr. '*aggānē*, see Kugener's note in *Cumont*, p. 31 n. 2. [*Schaeder*, 'die Sphären (*aggānā*)']. Concerning these three 'Wheels' of the Wind, Water and Fire see p. 45 n. 20. They are recognized (cf. *Cumont*, *Rech.* 1. p. 31-32) as occurring in Augustine (*tres rotas*) and in the Manichaean documents, Turkish (*üç tilgān*), Chinese (*san luen*). The idea that 'coverings' were needed to protect them (see n. 72 below) is found in a similar case in the Turfan Pahlavi Fragment, M. 98 b 3 (see above, p. 46 n. 30) which alludes to the 'three coverings' (*pēmōg seh*) of the Sun-god.

<sup>65a</sup> *Cumont* and Kugener, p. 31 n. 2 end, and p. 78 mid., would read *d'rūḫā* and translate, 'roues du vent, etc.' [*Schaeder*, however, p. 345 top, renders as an appositive; see above, n. 63 end].

<sup>66</sup> Verb here masc.; see remarks above, n. 64.

descended (and) formed<sup>67</sup> them<sup>68</sup> (v.l. made them<sup>68</sup> glide<sup>67</sup>) below near the Supporter.<sup>69</sup> And the King of Glory<sup>70</sup> e v o k e d and raised over them<sup>71</sup> (i.e. over the

<sup>67</sup> Pognon's text (p. 129 l. 4, transl. p. 189) gives *ḥṣāl* 'he formed (lit. struck—as of a coin)' which would be suitable to the creative activity of the Living Spirit. This reading is followed likewise by Cumont (p. 31) 'et les forma au-dessous (de la terre).' The v a r i a n t reading 'made them glide,' which has been added above, is from the Berlin manuscript (see Kugener in Cumont, p. 78 mid.) which gives *šalḥel* (Intens.) 'he caused them to run, made them glide.' That action, after the formation of the wheels, would be particularly applicable to the Gloriosus Rex in Augustine's words (*impellentem* and *in imo versat*) in *C.F.* 15. 6; 20. 10, or the leading up (TPhl. 'ūl *aḥrāmēd*) of the wind, water and fire by the 'Wind-raising God' in a Turfan Pahlavi passage, M. 472 v, 4-6, see note 69 below, and compare what Theodore bar Khoni says in his next sentence regarding the King of Glory.

<sup>68</sup> That is, the wheels. The Syr. pronoun here is fem.

<sup>69</sup> As quoted above (in n. 67) the Turfan Pahlavi Fragment M. 472 v, 4-6 (= Mü. 2. p. 19 top) after alluding to the Mānbēd God (i.e. Atlas the Supporter) mentions next 'that Wind-raising God (*Vād-aḥrām Yazd* = Gloriosus Rex, and Syr. *m<sup>e</sup>lekh šūbhā*) who leads on upward the Wind, Water, and Fire.'

<sup>70</sup> The King of Glory, being particularly associated with the wheels of the wind, water, and fire, is the natural one to 'evoke' a covering to protect them from the poison of the Archons.

<sup>71</sup> The Syriac pronoun 'them' is here masc. (and so twice again in the same sentence) but it must refer to the wheels (though *'aggānē* is fem.), the masculine gender being used because of its predominance in the alternating grammatical phrase (wheels of) 'the wind (masc.), water (masc.) and fire (fem.)'; such interchanges of gender in bar Khoni are not infrequent (Yohannan). Cumont (p. 31-32) similarly takes it as referring to the wheels ('roues') as shown by his translation here and throughout by 'elles.' Only in the first instance does Kugener (see Cumont, p. 31 n. 3) refer the pronoun to the Archons by rendering 'plaza sur eux (c'est-à-dire sur les Archontes) un lit (natte, matelas) afin qu'elles (les roues) montassent,' adding (op. cit. p. 32 n. 2) that one should understand the third occurrence as 'afin que les roues servissent les cinq dieux.' [Schaefer, p. 345 (whose notes 2 and 3 are here included in parentheses), translates: 'Der Ruhmeskönig rief (?) und legte auf sie (wahrscheinlich—die Archonten) ein Bett (?), damit sie (die Sphären) auf jene Archonten stiegen.']

wheels of the wind, water, and fire) a covering<sup>72</sup> in order that they might ascend<sup>73</sup> over these Archons that are subjugated<sup>74</sup> in the Earths so that they<sup>75</sup> might be of service to the Five Luminous Gods that they (i.e. these Five Elements) be not burned by the venom<sup>76</sup> of the Archons.

And he (Mānī) says: 'Then the Mother of the Living and the Primal Man and the Living Spirit stood in prayer and implored the Father of Greatness; and the Father of Greatness hearkened to them and evoked the Third Evocation, (namely) the Messenger.'<sup>77</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Syr. *mašk<sup>e</sup>bhā* denotes a 'bed, couch, mattress,' hence here presumably 'coverlet, covering'; see the discussion of this in connection with TPhl. *pēmōg seh* etc. in the Cosmological Fragment above, M. 98 b 3, p. 46, where a threefold covering of the wind, water, and fire was likewise used by the Living Spirit to cover the Sun God. Consult further the valuable comments and notes by Cumont, p. 32-33, especially in regard to the idea of concentric spheres of the elements, air, water, fire, according to the Stoics.

<sup>73</sup> The verb here is masc., consult the remarks above, n. 71.

<sup>74</sup> Syr. *dakh<sup>e</sup>bhīšīn*, lit. 'have been subjugated' (Pognon, p. 129 l. 7), of which the Berlin ms. (see Kugener or Cumont, p. 78) offers a slightly different reading, *dah<sup>e</sup>bhīšīn*, 'have been confined,' which would possibly answer still more closely to the ordinary Manichaean terminology. Cf. also Cumont, p. 32 n. 1. [Similarly Schaefer, p. 345, 'eingeschlossen sind (l. *dah<sup>e</sup>bīšīn*).']

<sup>75</sup> Masc. verb, cf. n. 71 mid. [Schaefer, p. 345 top, would emend to fem., by reading *dnēfīhān*.]

<sup>76</sup> Syr. *zahrā* as above, n. 20.

<sup>77</sup> For the identity of this Messenger (the same as *Πρεσβ[ε]ρ[ι]ς ὁ τριτος* and the *Tertius Legatus*) with Mihr-Mithra see Jn. *JRAS.* 1924, p. 141 mid., 142, 143 n. 1 end [Study X, below], where additional members in this Third Evocation are recorded from the Manichaean Texts themselves.

(*Pognon*, p. 129 l. 11, 189; *Cumont*, p. 35; [*Schaeder*, p. 345 mid.])

The Messenger, moreover,<sup>77a</sup> evoked the Twelve Virgins<sup>78</sup> with their vestments and with their crowns and with their attributes.<sup>79</sup> The (1) first (is) Sovereignty; (the attribute) of<sup>80</sup> the (2) second, Wisdom; (that) of the (3) third, Victory;<sup>81</sup> (4) the fourth, Reconciliation;<sup>82</sup> (5) the fifth, Purity;<sup>83</sup> (6) the sixth, Truth; (7) the seventh,

<sup>77a</sup> Lit. 'and the Messenger.'

<sup>78</sup> A discussion of these Twelve Virgins evoked by the Third Messenger, and their abstract names in the other sources, is ready in manuscript form to appear some time later. It is sufficient here to observe that they are parallel with the Twelve Great Majesties of the Supreme Deity, being naturally of the same substance with Him. Compare the Twelve Daughters etc. in the Chinese Treatise, *JA*. 1911, p. 567 and 568 n. 3; also in the Pāzand (Phl.) Shikand, 16. 31, above, Study VI, esp. n. 34. [Look up further W. and L. *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 51 mid., 72 top, 126 mid. col. 2].

<sup>79</sup> The Syriac word 'ēyādhē means, variously, 'habits, customs, uses, rites, orders, offices or functions,' and here denotes 'characteristics' or 'attributes' (Yohannan). The rendering 'attributes' has been adopted above. Kugener (in *Cumont*, p. 35 n. 1) felt that his own suggestion to read 'iraihēn, 'their angels, guardians,' instead of Pognon's text 'ēyādhāyēn, was hardly satisfactory.

<sup>80</sup> The Syriac word for 'of' (d<sup>e</sup>) does not appear in the case of the first abstraction but it does with all the others. This is indicated a couple of times in the translation by '(the attribute) of the (2) second' or by '(that) of the (3) third,' but is not repeated here in translation with the rest.

<sup>81</sup> Victory which brings final 'Release' is the idea conveyed by the corresponding term *bōxtagēft* in the Turfan Pahlavi list; the Turkish designation translated as 'Victory' and the Chinese 'Constant Victory' have to be compared.

<sup>82</sup> Syr. *pēyāsā*. The rendering 'reconciliation' above is approximate; we might prefer 'arbitration,' or 'contentment.' Pognon (also *Cumont*) gives 'la Persuasion.' [*Schaeder*, p. 345, 'Überzeugtheit.

<sup>83</sup> So also Pognon, *Cumont*, Legge. Yohannan preferred 'modesty. The general notion of this abstract personification involves that of piety if we may judge by the translations from the Turkish ('following the Ordinances i.e. of the religion') and the Chinese 'religious zeal,' lit. 'application to practice' (the precepts of the religion).

Faith; (8) the eighth, Longsuffering; (9) the ninth, Rectitude; (10) the tenth, Beneficence;<sup>84</sup> (11) the eleventh, Justice; (12) the twelfth, Light.

*Pognon, p. 129, 189-190; Cumont p. 37; [Schaeder, p. 345 mid.]*

And when the Messenger came to these Ships ('*elpē*'),<sup>85</sup> he ordered the three Servitors<sup>86</sup> to make the Ships move.<sup>87</sup> And he ordered<sup>88</sup> the Great Bān (Builder)<sup>89</sup> to construct

<sup>84</sup> Syr. *ṭaybūthā*, 'grace, favor, beneficence' (Yohannan); but Pognon (and Cumont) 'la Bonté.' This latter translation would accord better with that of 'goodness,' 'meritorious action' as found in the three language-sets of Manichaean documents; it would match also the meaning of the kindred word *ṭābhūthā*, 'kindness.'

<sup>85</sup> Syr. '*elpē*, 'ships'; see the remarks above, in the second paragraph of note 63.

<sup>86</sup> Syr. *l'ālāthā 'abhdīn*, lit. 'three servitors,' indefinite. Regarding these three helpers see above, n. 45.

<sup>87</sup> [Syr. *l'me'badh 'elpē dan'hal'khān*, 'to prepare (the?) ships for going,' or possibly 'to construct ships which should go.' So Prof. Marcus.] The allusion is to setting in motion the luminaries which had hitherto remained motionless after being created. Cumont (p. 37 n. 3; 43 n. 1) rightly compares Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 6.8, 'cum caelum rotari coepisset,' and idem, *De Nat. Boni*, 46, 'quem admodum polum movet' (sc. the Messenger). A Zoroastrian parallel to this idea of putting the heavenly orbs in motion is found in the Sasanian Pahlavi book *Zātsparam*, i. 22 (transl. by West, in *SBE.* 5. 159), as cited above in connection with the Cosmological Fragment, p. 39 n. 6. It may be observed that Cumont (p. 37 top), for purposes of commenting on the passage, inserts here the phrase 'et bientôt ils arrivèrent au milieu du ciel,' which really belongs in the sentence a few lines beyond as given in his translation on p. 57 mid.

<sup>88</sup> There is some question as to the reading and the construction of this sentence, which affects the interpretation. Two of the manuscripts used by Pognon (p. 129 n. 2) read *l'b(a)n rabbā paqdēh* and the other two omit the preposition (*l'*); it is omitted also in the Berlin ms. which reads *w'b(a)n*, see Kugener in Cumont, p. 78, l. 18 mid. The interpretation given above (in agreement with Pognon and Cumont, 'il chargea le Grand Ban') indicates that the Messenger 'gave command to the Great Builder to construct the New Earth.' On

the New Earth,<sup>90</sup> and the Three Wheels to ascend.<sup>91</sup> And the other hand Yohannan first translated this from Pognon's edition without the *l*<sup>e</sup>, as 'And B(a)n Rabbā (Great Builder) ordered him (i.e. the Messenger) to build the New Earth,' and we found later that Kugener (in Cumont, p. 37 n. 4) observes that the text could also signify: 'Et le Grand Ban lui ordonna (c'est-à-dire au Messenger) de construire une terre nouvelle.' On the whole, however, it seems to me that the rendering given in the translation above, 'he ordered the Great B(ā)n,' is the one better suited to the context; the Messenger is the chief actor and subject throughout the entire paragraph; and as far as concerns his giving orders to the Master Builder Bān, we may regard this as giving the great architect directions to begin building the New Earth (see note 90 below) at the moment critical for its construction. Similarly he gave directions that the Three Wheels (which were in charge of the King of Glory, see above, n. 65) should mount heavenward. [Similarly, Schaeder, p. 345: 'Den Grossen Baumeister beauftragte er.' Prof. Marcus adds a note that, 'If we read *l*<sup>e</sup>, then *b(a)n rabbā* must be the object of 'ordered'; but if *l*<sup>e</sup> be omitted, it might be either subject or object of the verb, preferably the former.']

<sup>89</sup> The Great Architect Bān has been mentioned above, see n. 23 (with references).

<sup>90</sup> Syr. 'ar'ā ḥ<sup>e</sup>dathā 'terra nova.' This 'New Earth' is surely the great structure which is the 'New Earth' in the eschatological passage in the Fihrist as well as the 'New Realm' in the related passage in the TPhl. Frag. M. 470 a 18 (= Mū. 2. p. 20)—see Jackson, *JRAS.* 1924, p. 146 n. 4, p. 148 mid., 149 top (reprinted below in Study X), regarding the passages there quoted. Compare, furthermore, M. 482 v, 12-14 (= Mū. p. 17 mid.) in connection with the end of the world: 'the God, Son of the Realm (i.e. the great architect Bān), will show the New Realm.' [See Jackson, *JAOS.* 1930, 50. 194]. The Chinese Treatise (*JA.* 1911, p. 563 mid.) evidently makes allegorical use of the idea of 'this New City' in contradistinction to 'a New Impure City' made by the Demon of Greed (*JA.* 1911, p. 556). It is doubtless referred to also in the Cosmological Fragment above, M. 98 b 5-6 (p. 48 n. 33) as the 'Mystery of the Great New Paradise.' Its construction is there mentioned as being prepared for through the formation of the several physical earths by the Living Spirit; the ultimate carrying out of the design was probably in accordance with the previously devised plans of the Great Builder, although we cannot say this with certainty because the Fragment is broken off in the

when the Ships ('*elphē*) went up and reached the middle of the heaven, the Messenger then revealed <sup>92</sup> his forms, male and female, and was seen by all the Archons, the Sons of Darkness, males and females.<sup>93</sup> And at the sight of the Messenger, who was beautiful in his forms, all the Archons became filled with lust for him, the males for the form of the female, and the females for the form of the male,<sup>94</sup> and in their lust they began to emit that light which they had swallowed from the Five Luminous Gods. And then that sin which was shut up<sup>95</sup> in them (i.e. the Archons)

midst of the creation of the eighth physical earth. It will be observed that in Theodore bar Khoni the 'eight earths' are already created before the construction of 'the New Earth' is mentioned. The time of its being brought into existence as the 'Mystery of the Great New Paradise' (TPhl.) must have been synchronous with the raising of the 'Three Wheels' of the wind, water, and fire heavenward from below, and with setting the 'Ships' of the sun and moon in motion. The eschatological aspect has been indicated just above in this note.

<sup>91</sup> Lit. 'and the Three Wheels, that they should go up.' See preceding note, end, and consult the remarks above, in n. 65, and n. 88 end.

<sup>92</sup> The same expression here as above, cf. n. 61.

<sup>93</sup> This curious episode has been so fully treated by Cumont, *Recherches*, I. p. 54-68, in a special Appendix on the Seduction of the Archons, that a detailed discussion here is unnecessary. The licentious myth was anathematized by the Church Fathers and the ninth-century Zoroastrian author of the *Shikand-Gūmānīg Vīzhār*, 16. 31-34 (the latter translated above with notes, p. 179). To Cumont's references may now be added an implied allusion in a Turkish Fragment (Le Coq, I. p. 24 bot. and p. 25 top) to the 'beautiful form' of the Sun God and to the ability of a daughter of Āzrua (Zarvān) 'to change form and appearance.' Incidentally it may be observed as to the Syriac text of this episode in Theodore bar Khoni that no variation is found here in the edition of his work in Chabot-Guidi-Hyvernat, *Corpus Script. Christ. Orientalium*, 66. 316, which the late Dr. Yohannan duly consulted.

<sup>94</sup> Compare similarly the translation from the Berlin ms. by Kugener, in Cumont, p. 79 top.

<sup>95</sup> Instead of *ethḥašbath* in the text, read *ethḥabḥšath*, 'confined, imprisoned, shut up.' Similarly Pognon (p. 190) 'emprisonné (?)',



mixed itself like <sup>96</sup> the hair in the dough, <sup>97</sup> with the light <sup>98</sup> which came out from the Archons. They desired to go

and also Kugener (in Cumont, p. 39 n. 1) 'enfermé.' [So likewise Schaefer, p. 345 bot., 'gefangen.']

<sup>96</sup> At the suggestion of Pognon (p. 190 n. 4), which Kugener (loc. cit.) follows, we may omit the conjunction 'and' ( $w^e$ ) in  $w^e a < y > kh$ , although it might stand by translating, 'which was shut up in them and (was) like the hair in the dough.' Consult the next note (n. 97).

<sup>97</sup> The above rendering by Yohannan, whose native language was Syriac, differs wholly from the translation by Pognon (p. 190 with n. 1) and that of Kugener (in Cumont, p. 39 n. 1). He presented it orally at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York, April, 1924, but reserved the matter for printing later. This is here done from notes which he went over with me shortly before his death. I hope that I have them correct. A. V. W. J. According to the view of Yohannan, this passage contains merely an ordinary simile. He read the phrase as ' $a < y > kh$  *mentā*' (rather than *m<sup>e</sup>nāthā*) *b<sup>e</sup>laishā*, and translated it by 'like the (=a) hair in the dough.' Thus *b<sup>e</sup>laishā*, 'in the dough,' would refer to making bread. The unvocalized word that precedes this, he took as *mentā*, 'the hair,' which is naturally disgusting when found in the dough and particularly so because of the long locks worn among Orientals. He furthermore stated that if one insists upon reading *m<sup>e</sup>nāthā*, 'portion,' the portion in the dough could then be explained as referring to the leaven,—that being used with a bad connotation as in Matt. 16. 6.

In support of his translation I called Dr. Yohannan's attention to a slightly different image—though the idea is somewhat parallel—found in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise (JA. 1911, p. 514) which describes the adhesiveness with which the dark elements stuck to the light, in the following simile: 'The Five Sorts of Demons clung to the Five Luminous Bodies (i.e. the Light Elements in Primal Man) just as the fly that sticks to the honey, as the bird that is caught in the lime, as the fish that has swallowed the hook.' This simile conveys the idea merely in another way, and would thus help to elucidate our own Syriac simile. [Schaefer, p. 345 bot., translates: 'Da wurde die "Sünde," (die) in ihnen (war), gefangen und vermischte sich, entsprechend dem erbeuteten Teile, mit dem Licht, das von den Archonten ausging'; and he adds a note of interpretation (p. 346 n. 1).]

<sup>98</sup> All the manuscripts have *sahrā*, 'moon,' but that is certainly a misreading for *nūhrā*, 'light.'

in; <sup>99</sup> (but) then <sup>100</sup> the Messenger concealed his forms and severed <sup>101</sup> the light of the Five Luminous Gods from (lit. 'and') the sin that was with them. And it (i.e. the sin) fell (back) upon the Archons from whom it had fallen; but (lit. 'and') they received it not (i.e. rejected it), just as a man who is disgusted at his own vomit.

(*Pognon*, p. 130 l. 5, 190; *Cumont*, p. 39-40; [*Schaeder*, p. 346 top])

It (i.e. the sin) then fell upon the earth, half of it upon the moist part,<sup>102</sup> half of it upon the dry.<sup>103</sup> And that <sup>104</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Lit. 'And they (the Archons) wanted to go inside.' Pognon also begins a new sentence here instead of connecting this with the preceding and making a new sentence begin with the allusion to the next action by the Messenger in concealing his forms. The meaning of the phrase 'to go inside' or 'go in' is not clear. It may perhaps have a base sense, but it may simply mean they desired to enter again into the Five Luminous Gods. Pognon (p. 190 n. 5), while allowing the obscurity, takes the meaning to be, 'les Archontes voulurent pénétrer dans cette lumière, mais qu'à ce moment le Messager cacha ses formes et attira à lui la lumière enlevée aux cinq dieux lumineux et mélangée de péché en la séparant des Archontes au moyen d'un instrument tranchant.' Kugener (*Cumont*) translates: 'Et ils (les Archontes) cherchèrent à entrer à l'intérieur' (des dieux resplendissants) en même temps que la lumière qui était sortie d'eux.' [*Schaeder*, p. 346 top, interprets: 'Sie wollten (in das Schiff des "Boten") eintreten.']

<sup>100</sup> Perhaps better taken as a new sentence (or paragraph). 'There-upon the Messenger concealed etc.'

<sup>101</sup> So literally, 'cut off, severed,' the idea being that of dividing or separating the light from the dark commixture of sin.

<sup>102</sup> Lit. 'in the wetness;' 'wet' (fem.) sc. 'earth,' i.e. upon that portion of the earth.

<sup>103</sup> Lit. 'in the dryness.' Allusions to 'the dry and the wet earth' are found twice in the Turkish Confession Prayer (*Le Coq*, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 286, 298; Bang, *Muséon*, 36. p. 151, 167); also in the Chinese Treatise (Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 526 n. 4) we have 'les deux terres du sec et de l'humide.' *Cumont* (p. 39 n. 2) draws attention to the same distinction in Genesis 1. 9.

<sup>104</sup> Lit. 'And it' (i.e. the sin), the verb *h<sup>e</sup>wath* being feminine as referring to the Syriac word for sin.

(which fell upon the moist) became a horrible monster<sup>105</sup> in the likeness of the King of Darkness;<sup>106</sup> and the Adamas of Light<sup>107</sup> was sent against her (=it).<sup>108</sup> He fought with her, and vanquished her, turned her on her back, struck her with (his) spear<sup>109</sup> in her heart, pushed his shield upon her mouth, and placed one of his feet<sup>110</sup> upon her thighs and the other<sup>110</sup> upon her breast. And that (sin) which fell on the dry (earth)<sup>111</sup> sprang up into Five Trees.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Lit. 'hateful beast' (fem.). Cf. Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2. 329, 'horrible monster.'

<sup>106</sup> For the bizarre description of the horrible figure of the Spirit of Darkness see an-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, Flügel, *Mani*, p. 86 bot. Material has been collected from the glyptic standpoint for discussing this subject at some future time.

<sup>107</sup> See above, n. 25. [Cf. transl. Schaefer, p. 303, 'Licht-Adamas'; p. 343, 346, 'Lichtadam.']

<sup>108</sup> Lit. 'against her,'—the monster embodying Sin (fem. in Syriac) is conceived of as a female personage throughout this passage. Quite Manichaean! Incidentally recall the execrable shape of Sin in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 2. 650-767.

<sup>109</sup> Thus 'spear,' since Cumont, p. 39 n. 3 (followed by Kugener, *op. cit.* p. 79 mid. [and Schaefer, p. 346 line 9]) makes the plausible emendation of Pognon's troublesome text *ōrḡiyā* into *dōrḡiyā*, *δοράτιον*, 'spear,' because the belligerent hero Adamas carries a spear and shield (*hastam et clipeum*) according to Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 15. 6. In connection with weapons it may be casually mentioned that a Turkish Text (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. p. 20 bot.) assigns also to Primal Man a 'spear' (*söngü*) and an 'ax' (*ballo*) besides; but his lance ('700,000 miles long') would outdo that of Adamas!

<sup>110</sup> Lit. 'placed his one foot upon . . . and one upon etc.'

<sup>111</sup> Lit. 'in the dryness.' See remarks above, n. 102 and 103.

<sup>112</sup> Syr. *aw'yath* (causat.), lit. 'germinated itself (or sprouted) into Five Trees.' For allusions to these Five Trees in Manichaeism as typifying plant life on earth see Jackson, *JAOS.* 45. p. 264 n. 70. It is important to note that this sentence records the origin of vegetal life according to Manichaeism, which stood higher than animal life in Mānī's eyes.—In a different aspect (but still indirectly connected) may be mentioned the allegorical interpretation given by the Chinese Treatise to the five kinds of trees of death and life (referred to by

(Pognon, p. 130, 191; Cumont, p. 40-43; [Schæder, p. 346 mid.]

And he (Mānī) says: These Daughters of Darkness <sup>113</sup> were previously pregnant of their own nature, and on seeing the beauty of the forms of the Messenger their foetuses dropped <sup>114</sup> and fell upon the earth and devoured <sup>115</sup> the buds of the trees. And the abortions (Pognon, text, p. 130 l. 14) took thought together <sup>116</sup> and recollected the form of the Messenger which they had seen (or 'saw'), and they said, "Where is that form which we saw?"

Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 560-563) which were originally sprung from the two primeval trees of life and death referred to in Severus of Antioch (Kugener and Cumont, 2. 102-104, 112, 117-127). [See also the Chinese Hymn in Praise of Jesus, H. stanza 69, in W. and L. *Die Stellung Jesu* (1926), p. 109 top.]

<sup>113</sup> These were the female Archons, fixed like the males, as we have seen above, to the vault of the sky. Compare Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 6. 8; see also Beausobre, 2. p. 397.

<sup>114</sup> Pognon has *iheth*, a misprint for *ihet*, 'aborted' (3 sing. masc.), or possibly *n<sup>e</sup>heth*, 'dropped' (by miscarriage, intrans.). The subject of the sing. verb is '*ūlayhēn*, 'their foetuses.' Pognon, p. 191 mid. and Cumont, p. 40 bot., as referring to the female Archons, translate, 'elles avortèrent, leur foetus tombèrent sur la terre et mangèrent les bourgeons des arbres.' [Similarly, Schæder, p. 346 mid.]

<sup>115</sup> More literally, 'ate.' Observe, in connection with what precedes, that we have here the Manichaean legend of the origin of animal life. This whole fable about the female demons being made seasick by the rotation of the heavens, and the abortive births which ensued, is recounted likewise by St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 6. 8 (ed. Migne, 42, col. 296); cf. also Augustine, *De Moribus Manich.* 2. 9 § 14, 18; 17, 61 (ed. Migne, *P.L.* 32, col. 1351, 1353, 1371). See Cumont, p. 41 n. 2, 3, 4, and compare Beausobre, 2. 397-398; Baur, p. 116 and n. 1.

<sup>116</sup> Syr. *eihhaššabh<ū>* 'am *h<sup>e</sup>dhādhē*, 'took thought with one another.' Cumont, p. 42 n. 1, well notes in this connection a phrase in Augustine, *De Moribus Manich.* 2. 9 § 14 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 32, col. 1351) 'in concione uno persuadente.'

And Ashaqlūn,<sup>117</sup> Son of the King of Darkness, said to the abortions, "Give me your sons and your daughters and I will make for you a form like that which you have seen (lit. 'saw')." And they brought (these) to him and gave (them) to him. He, however, devoured the males and gave the females to Namrāēl,<sup>118</sup> his mate.<sup>119</sup> And Namrāēl and Ashaqlūn united together and she conceived by him and gave birth to a son, and she called his name Adam. She also conceived (again) and gave birth to a daughter and called her name Eve (Hawwā).

(Pognon, p. 130 l. 22–p. 131, tr. p. 191–193; Cumont, p. 46–48; [Schaefer, p. 346–347])

And he (Mānī) says: Jesus<sup>120</sup> the Luminous approached Adam the Innocent<sup>121</sup> and woke him from the sleep of

<sup>117</sup> The vocalization *Aṣḡalūn* is preferable to *Aṣḡalūn* (Pognon, tr. 191 mid.) because of Σακλῆς, see Cumont, p. 42 n. 2. This passage, it must be emphasized, has a particular interest on account of its giving the traditional name of the son of the King of Darkness (cf. furthermore Cumont, p. 43) and as recording twice afterwards the name also of his mate Namrāēl (see n. 118).

<sup>118</sup> The form 'Namrāēl' (see variants in the Syriac text of the passage) has here been adopted, but Nebrōēl would probably be better, judging from allusions to this proper name by patristic writers; see Cumont, p. 42 n. 3. [Schaefer, p. 346 bot., gives 'Nebrōēl.']

<sup>119</sup> Yohannan remarked that the Syr. term here for mate would be rendered more literally, 'daughter of his union'; but he notes that the sense is 'consort, mate, companion.'

<sup>120</sup> The text here gives nothing to indicate the position which Jesus holds either in relation to the Father of Greatness or to Primal Man (cf. also remark in the article by F. C. Burkitt in *The Journal of Religion*, vol. 2, no. 3 p. 272, Chicago, 1922). We can, however, recognize in Manichaeism from elsewhere the role of the celestial, liberating Jesus as a fulfilment of that of Primal Man, and below in this passage as the Jesus Patibilis; see (with references) Jackson, *JAOS.* 44. 63 n. 10. [Consult likewise Schaefer, p. 303 n. 2; and Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 14–15, 19 bot.]

<sup>121</sup> Syr. *tammīmā*, lit. 'harmless,' i.e. simple, guileless, innocent. Cf. also Kugener, in Cumont, p. 46 n. 5.

death in order that he might be delivered from the [two?] <sup>122</sup> great (?) <sup>123</sup> spirit(s). And just as a man who is righteous and finds <sup>124</sup> a man possessed of <sup>125</sup> a mighty demon <sup>126</sup> and

<sup>122</sup> *rūhā saggūthā*: Although the Syriac noun and its adjective are in the feminine singular, the expression here is to be taken in a plural (or dual) sense, as observed also by Pognon, p. 192 n. 2. The interpretative translation '(two) great spirits' given above is made in accordance with the fact that the Fihrist (Flügel, p. 91) states that there were 'two Archons, a male and a female,' who kept watch over Adam,' and that Jesus and a god who accompanied him seized and chained 'the two Archons,' thus liberating Adam and also Eve. Theodore bar Khoni himself likewise recognizes these two as the 'seductive Demon' and the 'female Archon' (see below, n. 134, 135). The rendering above is therefore justifiable. See Cumont, p. 47 n. 1, whose suggestion to compare a passage in the Book of Enoch (relating to the 'giants') should also be considered. Consult especially the next note (n. 123).

<sup>123</sup> *saggūthā*: This adjective occurs twice again in this same paragraph but it is not easy to find the best single word in English to match in the three instances. The fundamental idea of *saggūthā* (Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, 2. 2519) as indicated by its derivation from the root *s'ghā*, *s'ghī*, 'crevit, auctus, multiplicatus est,' etc. (*op. cit.* 2517) is in general 'multus,' with rather a quantitative connotation; but in some instances the force seems to be 'magnus.' In order to give a unified translation of the three occurrences here of *saggūthā*, the rendering 'great' (with the implication of overpowering, overmastering) has been adopted. Thus *rūhā saggūthā*, 'great spirit(s),' *shentā saggūthā*, 'great sleep,' *arkōntā saggūthā*, 'great Archontess.' On the other hand Pognon (p. 192) and Cumont (p. 46-47) vary their phrases as follows: (1) 'nombreux esprits(?),' (2) 'profond sommeil,' and (3) Pognon (*arkōntūthā*) 'la nombreuse troupe des Archontes,' but Cumont (following the Berlin manuscript as noted below), 'la puissante Archonte femelle.' For the reasons already stated it will be understood that the rendering 'great' has been adopted throughout in preference to that of 'numerous' in (1) and (3). [Schaefer, p. 346 bot., translates as 'von vielen Geistern.']

<sup>124</sup> Lit. 'will find.'

<sup>125</sup> Lit. 'to whom there is.'

<sup>126</sup> Syr. *daiwā taqqīphā*. The adjective signifies 'strong, powerful,' with the implied sense also of 'formidable, violent.'

quiets<sup>127</sup> him by his art, like this was also Adam because<sup>128</sup> that Beloved One (i.e. Jesus)<sup>129</sup> found him sunk<sup>130</sup> in the great sleep.<sup>131</sup> And he woke him and took hold<sup>132</sup> of him and shook him;<sup>133</sup> and he drove away from him the seductive Demon<sup>134</sup> and bound away from him the great

<sup>127</sup> Lit. 'will soothe him' (i.e. quiet the man possessed).

<sup>128</sup> Syr. *bad*, 'since, because, for the reason that' (see Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, I. 449, s.v. *bad*, particula causalis, *in quo*, (hoc est) *eo quod*, *quia*). This reading (*bad*) in Pognon's text is further supported by the Berlin manuscript (see Kugener, in Cumont, p. 80 l. 26). There seems, therefore, no special reason for emending *bad* into *kad*, 'when' (with Nöldeke) as recorded by Cumont, p. 46 n. 6, particularly as *kad* follows in the next line. In fact (Y.) the Syriac style distinctly favors preserving *bad* as has been done in the above translation, taking it as the double particle prefixed to the following verb.

<sup>129</sup> That is, Friend: compare the expression *Yḥšō' Ariyāmān*, 'Jesus the Friend,' in the TPhl. texts (Mü. 2 p. 26, 28; idem, *Doppelblatt* p. 17 line 210).

<sup>130</sup> Lit. 'when (*kad*) sunk (laid).'

<sup>131</sup> Syr. *b'sheniā saggāthā*: see above n. 123. The idea of the soul being sunk in the stupor of a drunken sleep from which it has to be awakened is found in the Manichaean Hymn M. 4b, lines 9-11 (= Mü. 2. p. 53) and in the so-called 'Zarathushtra-Fragment,' strophe 2, see Reitzenstein, *Erlös. Myst.* p. 3. [Compare later, with comments, Scheftelowitz, *Entstehung d. Manich. Relig.* p. 30 n. 7, and p. 70-77.]

<sup>132</sup> Lit. 'held him' (Syr. *'anīdhēh*). So Yohannan. Pognon, 'le mit en mouvement'; Cumont, 'le fit bouger.' [Schaefer, p. 347 top, 'ihn sich rühren liess'; Marcus (proofsheet comment) 'shook him.']

<sup>133</sup> Syr. *radd'dhēh* (intens.), 'made him move,' may best be translated 'shook him,' as above. So Yohannan. Pognon (and Cumont), 'le tira du sommeil.' [Schaefer, p. 347 top, gives 'aufschüttelte.' Marcus tells me that the verb *radd'dhēh* is of doubtful meaning in this connection, but that he would render by 'stirred him.']

<sup>134</sup> The male demon here corresponds to the fiend (Arabic) *al-Ḥirṣ*, 'Greed, Lust,' in the Fihrist (Flügel, p. 248 n. 154) while the female Archon answers to (Arabic) *aš-Sakwa*, 'Concupiscence.' The vile pair is linked together in the Turfan Pahlavi texts (as *Āz* and *Avarzōg*), being alluded to equally in the Chinese and Turkish documents, as discussed more fully above, see note on S. 9 b 3, p. 105.

female Archon.<sup>135</sup> Then <sup>136</sup> Adam examined himself and recognized what he was.<sup>137</sup> And He (i.e. Jesus) showed him the Fathers in the Height,<sup>138</sup> and His own self thrown in all <sup>139</sup> into the teeth of leopards and into the teeth of elephants,<sup>140</sup> and swallowed by the voracious and devoured

<sup>135</sup> Syr. *l'Arkōnṭiā saggūhā*: concerning this female Archon consult the preceding note. As earlier remarked (n. 123), this reading in the Berlin manuscript is preferable to *l'Arkōnṭūthā saggūhā* in the manuscripts used by Pognon (p. 130, line 29), and which he translates as 'la nombreuse troupe des Archontes.' For details see Kugener, in Cumont, p. 47 n. 4 and p. 80 l. 29. [Schaefer, p. 347 top, renders by 'die mächtige Archontin,' which is practically like Yohannan's translation above.]

<sup>136</sup> So Pognon's text, the Berlin ms. has 'And then' etc.

<sup>137</sup> Lit. 'knew who he was,' i.e. became cognizant that he was formed in part at least of the elements of Light. In Adam's makeup the luminous particles predominated (Aug. *De mor. Manich.* 19 § 73), being derived from the five Light Elements of Primal Man; the composition of Eve was wholly dark.

<sup>138</sup> Lit. 'of the Height' (sg.). Kugener (in Cumont, p. 48 n. 2) renders by 'Pères des hauteurs' (pl.). Pognon (followed by Cumont) has 'les Pères qui résident dans les hauteurs.' Compare the phrase above (p. 231 top), 'How are our Fathers, the Sons of Light,' etc.

<sup>139</sup> Syr. = lit. 'and as to ('al) His own soul (self, *naphšēh*) which in all (= "altogether, wholly," *dabh'khōl*) (is) thrown (ptcpl. fem. agreeing with *naphšēh*) on ('al) the teeth of leopards' etc. This verbatim translation will sufficiently justify the slightly freer version above; it accords also with the feeling expressed by Pognon (p. 192 n. 5) 'que 'al indique le régime direct' (supporting this employment of 'al, 'about, concerning, as to,' by Mandaean usage). But Kugener (in Cumont, p. 48 n. 2) would prefer to suppress 'al, despite Pognon's suggested explanation.

<sup>140</sup> So the Berlin ms. *šennay nemrē . . . pīlē*, 'teeth of leopards . . . and of elephants,' both principal nouns being there plurals, as also in the case of all the following nouns, in contrast to Pognon's text where 'leopard' and 'elephant' alone stand in the singular. Furthermore, in the latter case the literal translation 'teeth (*not* tusks) of elephants' has been adopted from the text itself because of the important part played in Manichaeism by the mastication and digestion of food in the releasing of the imprisoned particles of Light. This



by the gluttons<sup>141</sup> and eaten by dogs, and mixed and imprisoned in all that exists<sup>142</sup> and bound in the pollution<sup>143</sup> of Darkness.

And he (Mānī) says, that He (Jesus) raised him (Adam) up and made him taste of the Tree of Life. And then Adam looked and wept; and he raised his voice mightily, like a lion that roars and ravens;<sup>144</sup> he loosened (his bosom)<sup>145</sup> and smote (his breast) and said "Woe, woe! to the fashioner of my body and to the binder of my soul,<sup>146</sup>

entire passage (see Cumont, p. 48 notes 3, 4, 5, and cf. p. 46 n. 3, with citations from Evodius, *De Fide*, 34; Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 20. 2; 20. 11; 20. 13; also cf. Baur, p. 71-72) deals with the Manichaean doctrine of the 'Suffering Jesus' (*Patibilis Jesus*) who is represented as 'suspended from every tree' (*omni suspensus ex ligno*) or as 'bound' and 'fixed' (*ligatus, confixus*, etc.) in everything in nature that possesses elements of Light.

<sup>141</sup> Lit. 'swallowed by the swallows and gulped down (sipped) by the gulpers (sippers).' The emendation of the last word to *b'sārōphē*, 'by the sippers (gulpers)' proposed by Pognon (p. 192 n. 6) is now fully supported by the Berlin ms.—see Kugener (in Cumont, p. 80 bottom).

<sup>142</sup> Lit. 'existed.'

<sup>143</sup> So, or 'foulness, stench.'

<sup>144</sup> Syr. *māreṭ*, used of tearing in general. Cf. likewise n. 145.

<sup>145</sup> Syr. *š'rā* is employed especially of loosening the clothing and is here applied metaphorically to the gesture of uncovering the bosom. Pognon (p. 193 with n. 1, and cf. text 131 line 5) does not take the word for 'tearing' with the lion-phrase, as above, but with the following, and translates the sentence 'il arracha ses cheveux, cria (?), frappa sa poitrine.' Cumont (p. 49 n. 1, cf. p. 80 bot.) accepts Nöldeke's emendation *ša'rā*, 'hair,' and translates 'comme un lion rugissant, s'arracha les cheveux, se frappa la poitrine et dit.' [Schaeffer, p. 347, renders the passage as follows: 'Da schrie (l. *n'ar!*) und weinte Adam; furchtbar erhob er seine Stimme wie ein brüllender Löwe, raufte sich die Haare, schlug (sich die Brust) und sprach.']

<sup>146</sup> Syr. 'al *gābhōl paghr* <*ī*> *w'al asōrēh d'naphš* <*ī*> (Yohannan).

and to the rebels who have enslaved me." ' ' <sup>147</sup>

<sup>147</sup> The selection from Theodore bar Khoni dealing with Mānī's teachings ends abruptly with this effective but despairing quotation. We can see from the Fihrist and other sources that Theodore throughout must have used eclectically the text upon which he was basing his account.

October 4, 1925  
[Square brackets  
indicate additions  
made in 1930]

PART V  
MONOGRAPHS ON SEVERAL  
MANICHAEAN SUBJECTS



## STUDY IX

### NOTES ON THE RESCUE OF PRIMAL MAN

The episode of the rescue of Primal Man, after he had been overcome by the powers of Darkness, is of such importance in Manichaeism that it seems worth while to bring together from the various sources the passages relating to this special subject.<sup>1</sup> This scattered material is found in the Manichaean documents, cited so often above, Turfan Pahlavi, Turkish, and Chinese, and in the indirect sources, Arabic, Syriac, and Greek. The passages have here been arranged in the general order in which they seem best to fit (an exception or two being made for convenience of treatment), and transitional comments have been added to show the connection. This procedure of fitting together the various pieces has resulted in some overlapping or the occasional repetition of the same idea, when it is expressed in a slightly different form in some parallel text. It is hoped, however, that such a method of treatment may not be found a serious detriment.

The great drama of the universe began when the hosts of Darkness invaded the realm of Light. The events may be easiest summarized from the account by Theodore bar Koni translated above, Study VIII, p. 225 f. To

<sup>1</sup> A brief sketch of the rescue, with such data as were then available, was given by W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 179-181, Göttingen, 1907. Since that date the material has been considerably augmented, as the references below indicate. Consult, for example, A. Christensen, *Le premier homme*, p. 102-105, Upsala, 1918; R. Reitzenstein, *Das iran. Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 9-10 ff., Bonn, 1921; cf. also O. G. von Wesendonk, *Urmensch und Seele*, p. 114 n. 1, Hanover, 1924 (with bibliog. references); see likewise H. H. Schaefer (with Reitzenstein), *Studien*, p. 243-244, Leipzig and Berlin, 1926.

repel the attack the Father of Greatness, as the Supreme Deity of Light, had recourse to a First Evocation, calling into being the Mother of Life, who forthwith evoked Primal Man, while the latter summoned into existence his five sons, the Light Elements. Armed with these as his panoply, Primal Man was sent by the Godhead to do battle with the enemy, but was defeated in the initial combat, losing a part of his armor of Light Elements, which the demoniacal hordes 'devoured,' and he was left senseless on the battlefield, a prisoner of Darkness. These momentous occurrences form the protasis or introductory stage of the dramatic action, the culmination of which involves the ultimate triumph of Light and depends upon rescuing Primal Man. The Gnostic allegory of the soul submerged in Darkness is recognizable throughout.

The second stage, or epitasis of the movement, begins when Primal Man, upon recovering his senses, lifts up a prayer to the Father of Greatness, as alluded to in Theodore bar Khoni (see above, p. 228) and, incidentally, by Hegemonius in the *Acta Archelai*, 7.4-5 (quoted below, p. 264). Echoes of the prisoner's piteous appeal, as one estranged amid the nether gloom, seem to be heard in a few stray verses of a Manichaean liturgy, preserved in *Turfan Pahlavi* (M. liturg. = Mü. 2. p. 29 and 108 bot.).<sup>2</sup> The verses manifestly represent Mānī's conception of the despairing cry of Primal Man for release from bonds, so as to become the future liberator of human souls.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, on the first page (Mü. p. 108 bot.) we hear the captive's plea: 'I am a man, a soul of Light (*rōšan grw*), living, shining'; and on the verso page follows the sad plaint: 'I have become a stranger (*'izdēh* = *'ūzdēh*, 'an alien') from the Great Majesty (*vazurgēft*).' Still farther

<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Reitzenstein, *Das iran. Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> The idea of the liberation of future souls is implied in S. 9 a 31-34 to b 1-30, inclusive; see above Study III, p. 100, 103 bot.; 258 top.

on, in a cantillated passage in this same small book (M. liturg. = Mü. p. 29 bot.), comes the prayerful lament: 'I am the first stranger, child of the God Zarvān, son of the Rulers.'<sup>4</sup> We find the same idea of the enthralled stranger in an entirely independent TPhl. Fragment, M. 7 (see again Mü. p. 108 bot.). The lines read as follows: 'From the Light and the Gods am I, and become a stranger from them; come together (*hamvašt*)<sup>5</sup> upon me are the enemies, and by them I am dragged down (*'ādvāst*)<sup>5</sup> to the dead.'

Primal Man's prayer had immediate effect upon the Godhead, who (as bar Khoni's dramatic narrative continues) evoked, thereupon, a Second Evocation, to take part in the rescue of Primal Man. The triad thus called forth comprised (1) the Friend of Light, (2) the Great Architect Bān, and (3) the Living Spirit, although the activity of the Great Architect Bān is actually deferred

<sup>4</sup> The suggestion made above, that these three separate verses refer to Mānī's conception of Primal Man in captivity, and the cry of his imprisoned soul, seems fully warranted. Mānī considered himself to be a later representative of that first Envoy of Light, just as he claimed to be likewise of Jesus. The red ink caption of the third quotation above, 'THIS IS IN HIS (i.e. Mānī's) OWN CHANT,' together with the mention of the Supreme Deity Zarvān, lends further confirmation to the interpretation given. It must be noted, however, that Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 73 bot., describe this northern dialect hymn (M. 7) as a hymn to 'das Lebendige Ich' (*grēv živondoyēγ bōšō*) in the style of the long Hymn in Praise of Jesus, and as being the lament of the soul imprisoned in the body. In any case the soul of Primal Man, as is well recognized (cf. above, p. 103 bot., p. 104 top), is the prototype of the individual soul, and the language may therefore be equally applicable to him. The same may be true likewise of passages referred to below (p. 265 mid.); also compare the hymn in W. and L., *Die Stellung*, p. 115-116.

<sup>5</sup> For the final element of the participial verb *ham-vašt* compare BkPhl. and TPhl. *vašt*, NP. *gašt*, 'become, turn out.' Similarly, Salemann, *Glossar*, p. 84 bot., 78 top. For '*ādvāst*, 'dragged,' see Salemann, *op. cit.* p. 105 bot.

until somewhat later, when his plans for the creation of the visible world, thus involving the ultimate release of human souls in general, are brought into effect. Consequently, the first and third members of this group are here the prominent actors, but closely associated with them is the Mother of Life, who belongs to the First Evocation and is naturally deeply concerned in the fate of her son, Primal Man.

The initial rôle in this stage of the action is at once assumed by the Friend of Light (or more literally, 'Beloved of the Lights') as the first member in the Second Evocation. His entrance upon the scene, and the step which he immediately takes, by himself alone, to help towards the ultimate deliverance of the captive, is described in the Arabic account of the rescue of Primal Man, as given in an-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (quoting from Mānī). The statement runs as follows:

'The King of the Paradises of Light sent after him (i.e. after Primal Man who had been defeated) other gods and liberated him, and overcame Darkness. And that one who was sent (i.e. in advance) after the Primal Man was called the Friend of the Lights (*Ḥabīb al-'Anwār*). He went down, and [Primal] Man became freed from the hellish things—(both he himself) together with that (Light) which had been caught and fettered by the Spirits of Darkness.'<sup>6</sup>

It was in this way that the Friend of Light, as a pioneer, was instrumental in at least loosening Primal Man from the shackles of Darkness, thereby rendering him capable of

<sup>6</sup> An-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, see Flügel, *Mani*, p. 54, 17—55, 3 (text), 88, 2—9 (transl.); cf. complete edition of the *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel-Roediger-Müller, I. p. 329 line 28 f.; also the notes on the text, etc., *op. cit.* 2. p. 165 n. 5; cf. likewise my article in *JRAS.* 1924, p. 144 (reprinted below, Study X, p. 281).



the act of cutting the roots of evil, and of wreaking vengeance upon his tormentors and their diabolical leader. He therefore had a significant share in the rescue by contributing at the outset towards the release. The ultimate deliverance of Primal Man's soul awaited, however, the agency of the Mother of Life and the specially active Living Spirit as recounted in the next stages of the dramatic movement.

This united pair, the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit, now become the leading characters in the swift and varied action that follows. They are certainly to be understood as included among the 'other gods,' referred to in the Fihrist passage just quoted. Combined with them are two mystic personifications. The one represents the Appellant, Call or Voice, of the Living Spirit; the other is the Respondent, or Answer, in response to the summons from above. The descent itself of the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit to the Border which separates Darkness from Light<sup>7</sup> is described by an-Nadīm in immediate continuation of the Fihrist passage already quoted, and reads thus:

'Then Joyousness (i.e. the Mother of the Living)<sup>8</sup> and the Living Spirit (lit. 'The Spirit of Life'), proceeded to the Border (cf. note 7 above) and looked into the depth of that low Hell, and they saw the Primal Man and the Angels (i.e. his Five Light Elements) surrounded by Iblīs (the Devil) and by the insolent tormentors,<sup>9</sup> as well as

<sup>7</sup> The designation of this 'Border' in TPhl. is *vimand*, see above in the Cosmological Fragment M. 98 a 7, note 9 (Study II, p. 40).

<sup>8</sup> On the designations of the Mother of Life in Manichaeism see Jackson, in *JAOS.* 44. 61-66 (especially p. 64), reprinted below in Study XIII, p. 321 f.

<sup>9</sup> The term, 'tormentors, oppressors' (Arabic *ṣaḥrīyyūn*) probably receives further explanation through the Petrograd (Leningrad) TPhl. Fragment, S. 9 a 21-26, translated above (Study III, p. 79). Allusion

by the life of Darkness. Thereupon (lit. 'and') the Living Spirit called to Primal Man with a loud Voice (or 'Call,' Arabic *ṣaut*) swift as lightning, and it (i.e. the Voice, Call) became another God.'<sup>10</sup>

It is particularly to be observed in this Fihrist passage (quoted as from Mānī himself according to an-Nadīm's statement), that at the outset the Mother ('Joyousness') and the Living Spirit proceeded only 't o t h e B o r d e r' which delimits the Light Earth from the Dark Earth and looked down into the abyss of Hell. They two did not as yet enter the murky realm.<sup>11</sup> This appears to accord with is there made to the 'demon, fiend, and every witch' that unite in tormenting the imprisoned soul of Primal Man, and may be paralleled afterward, by the way in which the 'rebels' oppress the later enslaved soul of Adam, according to Theodore bar Khoni (see above, Study VIII end). In general consult Flügel, *Mani*, p. 208, 209 n. 11.

<sup>10</sup> See an-Nadīm's Fihrist, in Flügel, *Mani*, p. 55, 3 f. (text), p. 88 top (transl.), and cf. the complete edition of the Fihrist text, ed. Flügel-Roediger-Müller, I. p. 329, 3, and also their notes on the text etc. *op. cit.* 2. p. 165 n. 1. In support of the interpretation here given in the last sentence of this Fihrist passage, as 'it' (= the Voice, Call), I had, in 1922, when beginning to work upon the text, the advantage of conferring with my assistant, the late Dr. Yohannan, of Columbia University, and my former student, Mr. Anis E. Khuri, now Professor in the American University at Beirut, Syria. They both agreed in approving the interpretation suggested. It was a pleasure later to find that the same view of this sentence was taken likewise by Prof. A. S. Nyberg, in *Le Monde Oriental* (1923), 17. 90, who translates this special Arabic phrase as 'und er (der Ruf) wurde zu einem anderen Gott.' This may serve as a slight correction to Flügel's rendering (p. 88, lines 16-17), 'und der Urmensch wurde ein anderer Gott.'

<sup>11</sup> The definiteness of an-Nadīm's statement, if we judge aright, helps us likewise to interpret the two separate paragraphs from Theodore bar Khoni (in the passage next quoted at length) where allusion is made in the same connection to the fact that 'they travelled (went) to the Earth of Darkness,' and farther on in the context, 'they descended into (lit. 'to') the Earth of Darkness.' Two different and successive actions are thus clearly shown. Consult, furthermore, the translation of Theodore bar Khoni, above, Study VIII, n. 41, p. 232.

the interpretation of the other Manichaean passages, as given below, particularly the Chinese. The Voice of the Living Spirit is therefore sent down alone as an advance courier to locate the position of Primal Man, whose answer becomes the Respondent.

This same second stage in the action, which especially involves the 'Call,' is described more fully in the following passage from Theodore bar Khoni (or Konai), see above, Study VIII, p. 229 f.

'They (i.e. the Mother of the Living and the Living Spirit) came (lit. 'travelled') to the Earth of Darkness<sup>12</sup> and found Primal Man and his Five Sons (the Light Elements) swallowed in Darkness. The Living Spirit then called with his Voice (or 'Call') and the Voice (Call) was like (or 'took on the semblance of') a sharp sword; and it (i.e. the Voice, or Call) disclosed (or 'revealed') the form (*šūrthēh*) of the Primal Man and said unto him, "Peace be unto thee," etc., etc. (see above, p. 230). Thereupon, Primal Man responded to him<sup>13</sup> and said, "Come thou for the peace of the one who is dead, etc." (see above, p. 230).

'Whereupon (lit. 'and') the Appellant and the Respondent (i.e. Call and Answer personified) joined together and ascended to the Mother of the Living and to the Living Spirit; and the Living Spirit put on (i.e. vested himself with)<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Observe the phrase 'to' in Syriac as here indicating first the approach by the two divine beings to the border of the dark abyss. The sequel, their descent later into it, will become more clear from what is noted hereafter.

<sup>13</sup> Consult the note on this in Study VIII, n. 31.

<sup>14</sup> Concerning the Syriac verb *l'bhāš*, employed here by Theodore bar Khoni, see the previous remarks in Study VIII, note 39.

the Appellant, and the Mother of the Living put on the Respondent, her beloved son.'<sup>15</sup>

'And (then)<sup>16</sup> t h e y (i.e. the Mother of the Living and the Living Spirit d e s c e n d e d to (i.e. i n t o )<sup>17</sup> the Earth of Darkness, to where Primal Man and his Sons (were).'

The third and last stage in the dramatic action consists in the final restoration of Primal Man to the realm of Light. This event is described particularly in a T u r k i s h F r a g m e n t (T II D. 173 b<sup>1</sup>). After stating that 'the God Khrōshtag (the Appellant or Call of the Living Spirit) had opened for the God Khūrm(u)zta (Primal Man) the d o o r,'<sup>18</sup> leading heavenward from the dark domain, the text goes on to record (following the German translation by Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* I. p. 13-14, lines 13-20, recto, and 1-5 verso):

'When Khrōshtag (Appellant, Call) and the God<sup>19</sup> Padvākhtag (Respondent, Answer) had ascended upwards out of Hell from the God Khūrm(u)zta (Primal Man), then came hastening the God Wādzhī-

<sup>15</sup> That is, the personified Respondent, or Answer, represents Primal Man, son of the Mother of Life.

<sup>16</sup> As intimated above, the sequence of events, as shown by the subsequent passages from the Turkish, and particularly the Chinese, warrants inserting the word '(then)' here in the English rendering, in order to make the connection more clear.

<sup>17</sup> As already pointed out, the preposition Syr. *l'* has here the force of 'into'; recall the remarks made above, and see Study VIII, n. 42.

<sup>18</sup> This door was at the Border. Similarly also Reitzenstein, *Erlös. Myst.* p. 8-9; compare likewise, *op. cit.* p. 23 top, 'the door in every heaven' (in an unpublished TPhl. Fragment).

<sup>19</sup> Schaeder, *Studien*, p. 251 n. 1, argues for omitting the god-title *l(ā)ngri* throughout, but I have retained it wherever given in the text. The divine epithet is omitted, however, by Bang, *Muséon*, 36. 242, n. 4, in a note where he happens to translate the first sentence of this Turkish passage.

wantag (Living Spirit) and the Mother Goddess (*ög t(ä)ngrī*). They (two) caused the God Khūrm(u)zta to ascend up out from Hell (*t(a)mudan*) and to come forth, and they sent him <sup>20</sup> to the divine Heaven. Whereupon (*ymā*, lit. 'and,' 'more-over') they, the Mother Goddess and the God Wādzhī-wantag, separated from the God Khūrm(u)zta the Five Gods (i.e. those original Light Elements that had become commingled with the Dark), and (then) applied themselves to creating and forming earth and heaven.' <sup>21</sup>

The Chinese Treatise (*JA*. 1911, p. 510-512) in this connection gives only a brief résumé of the rescue, without mention of either the Call of the Living Spirit or the Answer of the Respondent, even though both of these symbolic personifications appear several times by name in other parts of the Treatise.<sup>22</sup> In this concise description the two usual protagonists, the Living Spirit (Tsing-fong, Pure Wind) and the Excellent Mother (Shan-mu) are definitely represented as now descending into the actual caverns of Darkness. Adapting the French translation, the passage states as follows:

'The two Envoys of Light, who are Tsing-fong (Pure Wind) and Shan-mu (Excellent Mother), entered into the lightless domain of

<sup>20</sup> Schaeder, *op. cit.* p. 251 n. 1, renders by 'geleiteten ihn,' which is perhaps better.

<sup>21</sup> Incidentally we may add that there is an implied reference, but only very general, to this matter of the freeing of the Light Elements in which Khrōshtag and Padvākhtag here play a part, the allusion being found in the Khuastuanift (better, Khvāstavānift) XI A, as translated by W. Bang, in *Muséon* (1923), 36. 161.

<sup>22</sup> For example, see Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*. 1911, p. 520, 523, 530, 542, 552, 567, regarding the names transcribed in Chinese as Hu-lu-shō-tō (Khrōshtag, Appellant, Call) and P'o-leu-huo-tō (Padvākhtag, Answer).

the caverns of Darkness.<sup>23</sup> They drew out from there the valiant ever-victorious . . . (= remnants?)<sup>24</sup> of the armor of the Great Knowledge (i.e. of Primal Man), (namely) the Five Separate Bodies of Light (i.e. the Five Luminous Elements).'<sup>25</sup>

A short summary of the whole action is given in the *Acta Archelai* of Hegemonius, 7. 4-5. Here, as elsewhere, the Living Spirit plays the chief rôle in rescuing Primal Man, whose panoply in part has been devoured by the Rulers of Darkness.

'Then was terribly afflicted the First Man (ὁ Πρῶτος Ἀνθρώπος) there below by the Darkness; and unless the Father had heard him when he prayed, and sent another power (δύναμιν), put forth by Himself, called Living Spirit; and had not he (the Living Spirit), after going down, given to him the right hand and brought him up out of the Darkness, the First Man, in the olden time, would have been in danger of

<sup>23</sup> Regarding the 'caverns' see the observations above on the Cosmological Fragment M. 98 b 7, note 35 (Study II, p. 48).

<sup>24</sup> Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 512 n. 1, draw attention to the lacuna here in the Chinese text, which makes the phrase somewhat obscure. They give support for their translation, 'les vaillants toujours victorieux . . . (couverts de) la cuirasse.' I have substituted 'remnants' instead, in the lacuna, but merely as a guess. The word 'victorieux' in this immediate connection seems strange, as the French savants confess, but it may denote in advance the ultimate triumph of Light that is assured. Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 14 n. 1, would translate the Chinese passage somewhat differently as follows: 'Sie zogen heraus den starken beständigen Sieg [und liessen zurück] die Rüstung der grossen Weisheit (?), den fünfteiligen Lichtkörper. Sie gaben ihm hilfreich die H a n d, aufzusteigen und vorwärtszugehen.' In the preceding paragraph of their note they interpret the term 'Constant Victory' as referring to Ormuzd (Primal Man) himself.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. transl. from the Chinese by Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 510-512.

being held down there. From that time, therefore, he left the soul below;<sup>26</sup> and on this account the Manichaeans, if they meet each other, give their right hands as a sign of having been saved from Darkness.'<sup>27</sup>

It would be tempting to assume with Reitzenstein<sup>28</sup> that a description of the return of Primal Man to his heavenly home was contained in several Manichaean hymns, the initial verses of which, alphabetically arranged, are preserved in the Turfan Pahlavi hymn-book, the *Mahrnāmag*, ed. F. W. K. Müller, *Ein Doppelblatt*, p. 27, in *Abh. Preuss. Ak.*, Berlin, 1913. For example, we read in line 402, 'Come is this Spirit, the one who was fettered (*paštaq*),' and line 403, 'Come is this Spirit, the one released (*bōxtag*),' 407, 'Blessed art thou, Spirit of Light,' 408, 'Blessed art thou, Spirit re(leased).'<sup>28</sup> More recently, however, W. and L. *Die Stellung*, p. 115-116, have published a Fragment (T II K) containing the complete text of these short hymns, which now are seen to be addressed to the *Grw Žwāndag*, 'the Living Self,' and to contain the praises and supplications of the Manichaean community. Some expressions, however, may be mystically reminiscent of Primal Man (cf. end of n. 4 above).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. also Reitzenstein, *Das iran. Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 10 top. Support for the symbolism of the right hand is found in the Manichaean texts themselves and elsewhere. Thus in the TPhl. Frag. M. 4 e (p. 6) line 23 (= Mū. p. 57 mid.), *padirēd dašn*, 'receive ye the right hand.' Furthermore, in the same Manichaean hymn, M. 4 f (p. 7) line 14, we have *dašn<sup>2</sup>zādag'ān*, 'Sons of the Right Hand.' In a footnote on this line, Müller, *op. cit.* p. 58 n. 1, draws attention to the designation '*abnā*' *al-yamīn*, 'Sons of the Right Hand,' in al-Murtadā, see Kessler, *Mani*, p. 349 mid. and 355 top, and refers to the review of Kessler's book by Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* 43. 549 top. See also above, n. 24 end, for giving the 'hand' to Primal Man to lift him up out of Darkness. To these references we may add an allusion in Augustine, *Epist. Man. Fund.*, ch. 12 § 13 end, 'May also the right hand of Light protect you!'

<sup>27</sup> Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, ed. Beeson, p. 10-11.

<sup>28</sup> See, Reitzenstein, *Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 10.

With a ringing note of triumph, therefore, and of promise for the salvation of future souls, closes the dramatic episode of the rescue of Primal Man.

Merely as a supplement to these main features of the deliverance of the celestial prototype of human kind, we may here refer to some further passages in the Manichaean sources which are connected with the general subject, but in a less direct way. They relate to two significant acts which Primal Man performed, either possibly a short time after being released by the Friend of Light from the shackles that bound him, or else (and much more likely) just before the Living Spirit and the Mother of Life delivered him from the realm of Darkness.

The first of these exploits concerns the act of Primal Man in 'cutting the roots' of the five dark trees of evil. We read, for instance, in an-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (quoting from Mānī) the following:

'Since the Five Dark Natures (i.e. Elements) had become commingled with the Five Light Natures, Primal Man descended into the depth of the abyss and cut the roots of the Five Dark Natures, in order that they might have no (further) increase. He then turned and ascended to his place on the battlefield (i.e. at the Border). Thereupon, says (Mānī), he commanded one of the angels to draw this mixture to the side of the Dark Earth which borders on the Light Earth, and to hang it on high. He then designated another angel and gave these mixed portions into his charge.'<sup>29</sup>

The Chinese Manichaean Treatise has several passages that are obviously reminiscent of this incident in regard to cutting the roots of evil, although they are there employed in a symbolic manner as relating to the

<sup>29</sup> Flügel, *Mani*, p. 56 line 5 f. (text), p. 89 line 6 f. (transl.). Cf. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 389 mid. (transl.).



eradication of wickedness from the human makeup under the inspiring influence of a true Envoy of Light, as was Primal Man, and as was exemplified in Mānī and in his interpreters. In the passages here presented from the Chinese text I follow the French translation by Chavannes and Pelliot (*JA.* 1911, cited fully below). They each recall to mind Primal Man's original action. Thus:—

‘ Armed with the Ax of Wisdom,<sup>29a</sup> he cuts and hews down the Trees of Poison and eradicates their roots, as well as the other impure plants.’<sup>30</sup>

It is similarly stated regarding ‘ the skilled Laborer of the beneficent Light ’:

‘ He began by removing the brambles and all poisonous plants and burned them with fire; he then felled the five sorts of poisonous trees.’<sup>31</sup>

Again in this Treatise it is said of the Envoy of the Beneficent Light:

‘ He hewed down and removed the five kinds of Trees of Death, poisonous and evil.’<sup>32</sup>

A little farther on, the text repeats the same idea:

‘ Being armed with the trenchant Ax of Wisdom he successively hewed down all these trees.’<sup>33</sup>

In another Chinese Manichaean work, the second part of the long hymn in Praise of Jesus, H. 69 b–d, we have again the symbol of cutting the roots:

<sup>29a</sup> Here ‘Wisdom’ represents Primal Man, as elsewhere, as the original personification of Mind and Intelligence.

<sup>30</sup> See French tr. by Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 536 and n. 2.

<sup>31</sup> *JA.* 1911, p. 559 top.

<sup>32</sup> *JA.* 1911, p. 560 mid.

<sup>33</sup> *JA.* 1911, p. 561 bot.

‘The five poison trees planted by the demons—  
O take the spear, the sharp knife, the sickle of the  
Law and hew them down, burn them up, and bring  
purity to pass!’<sup>34</sup>

But enough has been adduced from the Chinese and Arabic sources in support of this first exhibition of energy by Primal Man in striking at the very roots of evil to make the interpretation seem plausible. The sequel would appear to bear it out.

The second exploit, or Primal Man’s subsequent display of action in the same connection as just indicated, is his encounter with the Devil, Shumnu, the arch-fiend of all demons, and his subjugation of that monster. This triumphal engagement appears at least recorded in the Turkish Manichaean Fragment T.Iα (= Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. p. 19–20). The context is obscure and the lines are somewhat broken, but the victory over the Arch-fiend remains with Primal Man, so far as I can understand the Turkish passage through the help of Le Coq’s translation. It begins with a hypothetical inquiry on a religious question on the part of a novitiate or a lay Hearer, but proceeds immediately then to describe the combat referred to.

(*Hypothetical inquiry*). ‘The God, Primal Man ([Xū]rm[uz]ta t(ā)ngri) was kind-hearted; how is it that he killed (ölürdi) the Devil (Šmnu)? (*Answer*). If the question be asked in doubt, give answer thus: “The Demon (Šmnu), having changed his language, speaking and announcing thus to all the Demons (yāklār), said (these) words: ‘The poison which I have taken from you I will spurt upon the God Khūrmuzta (Primal Man); the God Khūrmuzta with this (*line lost* =

<sup>34</sup> After the German transl. by Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 109 top.

I will utterly destroy?),' said he. The poison which he spurted struck upon his own head (*bašinga*). Down he fell; he humbled himself ten thousand times. The Devil (*Šmnu*) (spoke) saying: 'I will the God Khūrmuzta // // // // something // // // // Demons // // // were // // //'. Then they devoured (*yidi-lār*) and killed, while he (i.e. Shumnu) himself rushed into farthest (?) Hell. There-upon the God Khūrmuzta, making the Fire-god into an *a x* (*balto*), split the head of the Devil (*Šmnu*); and then making the Fire-god into a spear, seventy myriad miles long, he [pierced] the head of the Devil with the point of the spear.' ' 35

In conclusion, I can simply refer in a general way to one other Turfan Pahlavi Fragment, M. 33, which relates to the final rescue of Primal Man, but the text of which has not yet been printed.<sup>36</sup> The brief résumé of its contents, however, as given by Reitzenstein (presumably communicated by Müller) shows that this fragmentary hymn refers to the liberation of imprisoned Primal Man.<sup>37</sup> According to this summarized account, there is certainly portrayed, as in Theodore bar Khoni, how the Mother of the Living shared in praying to the Father of Greatness for the release of her imprisoned son. The God Khrōshtag (Call) is sent and speaks to the one in bonds. The captive divinity is ultimately made to ascend aloft. The Mother, in welcoming her son, grasps his right hand, as already referred to, promising him high honor among all.

In this unpublished TPhl. Fragment more stress is evidently laid upon the final action of the Mother of the

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Germ. transl. by Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. p. 19-20.

<sup>36</sup> The short bit of M. 33, printed in Müller, *Handschriften-reste*, 2. p. 46-47 of this text, has no particular bearing upon the subject of this problem of the release. The full text itself must, therefore, be published before a more detailed discussion can be given.

<sup>37</sup> See Reitzenstein, *Das iran. Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 8.

Living than upon the general rôle of the Living Spirit, as emphasized in most of the passages cited above. But all alike contribute to our knowledge of the Manichæan conception of the rescue of Primal Man for the eternal welfare of mankind.

December 16, 1930

## STUDY X

### THE "SECOND EVOCATION" IN THE MANI-CHÆAN SYSTEM OF COSMOGONY \*

In his philosophical speculations regarding the original scheme of the universe, Mānī portrayed with poetic imagination the primordial struggle between the powers of Light and Darkness that formed the dualistic basis of his system of religion. When the primeval attack upon the Realm of Light was made by the King of Darkness, the Sovereign of Light "evoked", or emanated, three successive evocations in the form of divine personifications, designed to serve first in combating the onslaught of Evil, and then in weakening the pernicious effects of its force.<sup>1</sup>

The *first* of these evocations by the Godhead, as is well known, was the Mother of Life, who in turn called into being Primal Man as a combatant to be sent to give battle against the host of Darkness. The *second* evocation, less familiar in part, comprises three figures that were summoned into existence to aid in rescuing the latter celestial prototype of mankind, after he had been taken captive in the pri-

\* [Reprinted, with some additions and a few slight changes, from my article in the *Centenary Supplement to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, Oct. 1924, pp. 137-155. Appreciative acknowledgment is made of the courtesy extended. References to the original pagination are set into the margins. Square brackets [ ] indicate matter that has been added since the date when the article first appeared.—A. V. W. J.]

<sup>1</sup> The characteristic feature of the grouping as triads in these evocations has been thought possibly to exhibit traces of Babylonian or old "Chaldæan" influence upon Mānī. See F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme I, La Cosmogonie manichéenne*, Brussels, 1908, pp. 20, 34, regarding Anū, Bēl, Ēa, and Shamash, Sin, Ishtar. Cf. Jackson, *JAOS.* xliv, 61.

mordial abyss of Darkness before the present world was created. The *third* evocation is represented particularly in the form of a Messenger (Mithra), who helps later in reducing the demoniacal influence of the dark powers. The purpose of the present paper, which is laid before our Society on the occasion of its Centenary Celebration, is to deal with the *second* triad of emanations or hypostases, who play the chief rôle in the second scene of the opening act of the great Manichæan drama of the universe.

= orig. p. 138 We may assume as known the various Manichæan sources which deal with the initial stage of the conflict which left Primal Man temporarily defeated, with the loss of his panoply of light which was robbed (lit. "devoured") by the demons of Darkness, and "imprisoned" in such a condition as to deprive him of his reason.<sup>2</sup> The sources descriptive of the second scene in this dramatic allegory are naturally the same, but the principal one with which to begin is the section on Manichæism in the Syriac *Scholia* by Theodore bar Khoni; and with this we may afterwards combine material from the Turfan Manichæan Documents themselves, the Fihrist in Arabic, and the other sources. Referring to this Second Evocation the Syriac writer bar Khoni (quoting the words of Mānī) says <sup>3</sup>:—

"When Primal Man regained his senses (lit. 'mind') he raised a prayer seven times to the Father of Greatness (i.e. the Godhead), and He evoked a *Second*

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the more familiar sources compare also the graphic account preserved in the Petrograd Manichæan Fragment in Turfan Pahlavi, S. 9 recto, a 1-b 30, reproduced by Salemann, *Manichaica*, iii, pp. 8, 9, in *Bulletin Acad. Impér. des Sciences*, St. Petersburg, 1912. [See now above, Study III].

<sup>3</sup> See H. Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaites, avec extraits du Livre des Scholies de Théodore bar Khouni*, pp. 127-8 (text), 186 (transl.), Paris, 1898; and compare Cumont, *Recherches*, i, p. 20. [Consult now the English translation and notes, above in Study VIII].

Evocation, (namely) the Friend of Light<sup>4</sup>;  
and the Friend of Light evoked the Great Bān<sup>5</sup>;  
and the Great Bān evoked the Living Spirit<sup>6</sup>."

As it is with this second triune group that we have here to do, we may state at the outset that it is hoped to show (1) that the Friend of Light is to be identified with the god = orig. p. 139 Narēsaf in the Manichæan Middle Persian texts from Turfan; (2) that the "Great Ban" (long a mooted problem) is primarily the Architect and Builder, but that in true Oriental fashion, as elsewhere, he assigns the execution of most of his designs to (3) the Living Spirit, Ζῶν Πνεῦμα, Spiritus Vivens or Spiritus Potens, who, in the Greek Christian writers, often bears the title Demiurge. These three personified agents in the Second Evocation may now be taken up in their respective order.

#### I. THE FRIEND OF LIGHT

The "Friend of Light" (or, more exactly translated, "Beloved of the Lights,") happens to be mentioned only once (*l'Ḥabbīb<sup>h</sup> Nahīrē*) by Theodore bar Khoni in the passage translated above; but he is known under this title, or by other designations, in the actual Manichæan documents and in the Fihrist of an-Nadīm as will be shown.

For example, in the extant Manichæan texts from Turfan he appears as the "Friend of Lights" (TPhl. *Rōšanān Friyānag*) in the Pahlavi Fragment M. 4a, line 18, end (= Müller, *Handschriften-reste aus Turfan*, ii, p. 52, mid.), in the section of a long hymn which is marked in rubrics at

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "the Beloved of the Lights", Syr. *l'Ḥabbīb<sup>h</sup> Nahīrē*. The word for light in Syriac is in the plural; cf. Avestan *raoča* "light(s)" from sing. *raoča-*.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. *l'Bān Rabbā*. For spelling see Section 2 below, p. 283.

<sup>6</sup> Syr. *l'Rūhā Hayyā*. It is not necessary here to add the sentence which names the "Five Sons" whom the Living Spirit in turn called forth, as that detail is reserved for treatment elsewhere. [See below, Study XI.]

this point by the caption the "Light(s) of God" (RÖŠANĀN 'Ī BĀ).<sup>7</sup> Yet in this particular passage there are not given any additional attributes to define the character of the Friend of Light in further detail.<sup>7a</sup>

More definite information, at least for assigning to the Friend of Light the foremost position in the triad of the Second Evocation, is obtainable through another Turfan Fragment, in Soghdian, numbered M. 583 in the Berlin collection, though available as yet only in a preliminary translation.<sup>8</sup>

Now in this Soghdian Fragment (M. 583), even if its con-  
= orig. p. 140 nection is not wholly clear, we have two lists of the divine beings, one of which closely parallels that of the original evocations at the beginning of things, as recorded by Theodore bar Khoni. Thus, to the (1) first group belong respectively the Supreme God, the Mother of the Pious (i.e. Mother of the Living),<sup>9</sup> and Ormazd (Primal Man) with his five sons (the elements, Murlāspand); to the (2) second group belong the Friend of Light, the God

<sup>7</sup> For this correct division of *rōšanānībā* (written together), see Bartholomae, *Zum Altiranischen Wörterbuch*, p. 78, middle.

<sup>7a</sup> [In Müller's text (2. p. 52 mid.) only two lines of this section of the hymn are given, owing to the loss of a folio in the ms. The missing portion can now be supplied in part from another incomplete Fragment, M. 855, published later (1926) in W. and L., *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 114. This has the same two opening lines as the former, 'Angad rōšanān friyānag etc.,' 'Come is the Friend of Light etc.' It then continues with an appeal made to him by one in dire distress, undoubtedly by Primal Man amid his captors in Darkness. The Friend of Light brings him bright cheer and bids him return to the shining 'Realm.' This Fragment (M. 855) may well be brought into connection with the incident of loosening the shackles from Primal Man by the Friend of Light, as described in Study IX, p. 258-9.]

<sup>8</sup> The text itself of this important piece still awaits publication, but an initial translation of it by Andreas is available in Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, p. 4, Heidelberg, 1917.

<sup>9</sup> The designation "Mother of the Pious" is used in Soghdian for the more familiar "Mother of the Living".



*Bām*, and the Living Spirit with his five sons; to the (3) third belong Mithra (Soghd. *Mišē*), the Light Maiden, the Column of Light,<sup>10</sup> with the Great Manūhmēd (*Manūhmēd Vazurg*, Great Soul or Great Knowledge?).<sup>11</sup> The Fragment continues immediately with a review of the gods, grouped according to the different regions of the universe from which they are presumed to appear respectively at the end of the world.<sup>11a</sup> Even though the entire

<sup>10</sup> Observe that the well-known Column of Light, here associated with the Maiden of Light, rather breaks the threefold order, and is not mentioned in the list that directly follows, and in which Jesus (cf. note 16 below) is mentioned immediately before the Light Maiden. [Concerning the Column of Light cf. now further, Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 12 mid., 34 bot., 49 bot., 57, 58 bot., 123 top].

<sup>11</sup> Until the original text becomes available, one must be content with a rendering of the German version by Andreas as stated. But the main points may be gathered in any case. [The TPhl. word *m n v h m y d*, which is found in a number of passages, has occasioned considerable discussion, and the translations of it vary. Among the latest to treat it, mention may be made of I. Scheftelowitz, *Die Entstehung d. manich. Relig.* (1922), p. 53-57 n. 1, who transcribes as *Manvahnēd*, 'verehrungswürdiger Geist', and compares the conception with the Fravashi idea in Zoroastrianism. H. H. Schaeder, *Studien* (1926), p. 245-249; 257-266; 348 top, reads as *manōhmēd* and translates by 'Seele', equating it practically with ψυχή; see also in his *Urform* (1927), p. 109 n. 1, 'die grosse Psyche' (*manōhmēd vazurg*). Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (1926), espec. p. 44-47, read as '*monuhmēd* = γνῶσις', adding support for its meaning 'knowledge'. Regarding the etymology of this compound word, if one looks up the references given (Scheftelowitz, p. 54 n. 3; Schaeder, *Stud.* p. 209 n. 5; Waldschmidt and Lentz, p. 47 top, citing a suggestion by Andreas), one will reach a general sort of agreement that the first element (*man*) means 'mind' or 'soul'; but as to the second element, *v h m y d* (the compound being mostly so divided), the suggestions differ rather widely, and none as yet seems wholly convincing].

<sup>11a</sup> [So likewise Schaeder, *Studien* (1926), p. 348, 'Eschatologischer (nicht kosmogonischer Text.)' It is to be observed, however, that the regional distribution of the divinities in this Fragment does not correspond to the passage from Mānī's own *Shābū-ḥragān* preserved in Frag. 470 (= Mū. ii. p. 20) which is translated

connection of the piece may not at present be certain, it is evident that the passage offers really few difficulties in translation, and its contents are as follows:—

“(1) From the north: the Mother of the Pious [appearing?] from the spirit;<sup>12</sup> the God Ormazd from the shining height (?);<sup>12</sup> the Elements (‘Murlâspondt’)<sup>13</sup> from = orig. p. 141 the [blessed] earth.<sup>12</sup> (2) From the west: the Friend of Light(s) from the spirit; the God Bām<sup>14</sup> from the shining height (?); the Living Spirit from the blessed earth. (3) From the east: the God Mithra (*Mišē*) from the spirit; the Twelve Sons of God<sup>14a</sup> from the shining height (?); and the God Spondārmūt<sup>15</sup> from the blessed earth. (4) From

below in this same Study X, p. 286–7. Cf. also my ‘sketch of the Manichæan Doctrine of the Future Life,’ in *JAOS.* (1930), 50. p. 197].

<sup>12</sup> The “spirit” represents that of the Godhead and the Ethereal Realm; “shining height” is the Light Air; “blessed earth” the Light Earth. For the shining height cf. “the Fathers in the Height” (used of the gods) in Theodore bar Khoni, ed. Pognon, pp. 131 (text), 192 (transl.); cf. Cumont, *Recherches*, i, 48, and note 5. [See above, VIII, n. 138].

<sup>13</sup> So spelt by Andreas (loc. cit.) for the more common spelling *Mardāspanîē* (cf. Av. Amesha Spentas); see Müller, *Soghdische Texte*, i, p. 84, line 11, and p. 97, in *Abhandlungen d. kgl. Preuss. Ak.*, Berlin, 1913. In Turfan Pahlavi the Five Light Elements, as being the ‘armor’ and ‘soul’ of Primal Man, are called *Amahrāspandān* in Frag. S. 9 a 11, and elsewhere. [See above, Study III, p. 91; cf. likewise, Schaeder, *Studien*, p. 279, with note 1, and p. 348, with note 5; furthermore, cf. W. Lentz, ‘Mani und Zarathustra’, in *ZDMG.* 82 (= neue Folge, Band 7), p. 199–204].

<sup>14</sup> On the spelling *Bām* by Andreas see below, Section 2, p. 283.

<sup>14a</sup> [Concerning such twelvefold personifications under various designations, consult the observations above in Study VI n. 34 and Study VIII n. 78].

<sup>15</sup> So Andreas for the ordinary Spondārmāt. [The early Iranian connection between Av. Spentā Ārmaitī and the earth is well known. Cf. my *Zoroastrian Studies* (1928), p. 51 top].

the south: <sup>16</sup> Jesus from the spirit; the Light Maiden from the shining height (?); and the Great Manūhmēd from the blessed earth." <sup>17</sup>

From this passage it is evident, as before, that the Friend of Light heads the triad that forms the Second Evocation, and he is not to be confused in any way with Mithra (*Mišē*, Legatus Tertius, Πρεσβ[ε]υτῆς ὁ Τρίτος), who is mentioned separately and independently in the third group that follows after the one in which he is included.

Still further light is thrown on the subject, moreover, by a paragraph in another Turfan Fragment, M. 2, written in North-Iranian, or Arsacid, Pahlavi.<sup>18</sup> This paragraph (embedded in M. 2), which forms part of an account of a vision beheld by Mānī's pupil Amū, describes the gods as standing in adoration before the Supreme Deity, and reads as follows:—

<sup>16</sup> This fourth section may possibly allude to an additional "evocation" besides that of the well-known Third Messenger (Mithra) as alluded to above. For the fourth triad, Jesus, Light Maiden, Manūhmēd, see n. 21, below.

<sup>17</sup> The translation of this passage, as previously stated (note 11), is based on the version by Andreas in Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, p. 4.

<sup>18</sup> This portion of M. 2 is translated by Andreas in Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, pp. 4–5, but the text itself has not yet been printed, even though two other portions of the text of M. 2 are available in Müller, ii, p. 30, and *Hermas-Stelle*, p. 1081. [Furthermore, in a North-Iranian TPhl. Fragment, M. 10 v. lines 21–22 (the text of which has since been printed (1926)), we have still another allusion to the Friend of Light. The entire piece is a glorification of Mānī's birth, at which (if I interpret the passage correctly) the Friend of Light, in company with Primal Man, is assumed to have been present. The verses read: *friyānag rōšan mardōhm naxrēn 'ūūd būd yd k d pīdar kām*, 'the Friend of Light, the First Man, was (i.e. each individually present) there according to (?) the Father's wish.' For the text alone of M. 10, see now Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 126, and compare the preliminary translation by Andreas, in Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch*, p. 47 top (*Sitzb. Heidelberg. Ak. Wiss.*, 1919, Abhandlung 12].

“(1) There stand in prayer and praise to the Ruler of Paradise, first the God Ormazd (Primal Man) with <sup>19</sup> the = orig. p. 142 ‘last god’, the Mother of the Pious; <sup>20</sup> (2) the Friend of Light [i.e.] the God Narēsaf, <sup>20a</sup> the God Bām, the Living Spirit; (3) Jesus Zivā (‘the bright’), <sup>21</sup> the Maiden of Light, and the Great Manūhmēd.” <sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Reitzenstein, op. cit., p. 5, n. 1, remarks that the use of the preposition (“mit, zusammen mit”) indicates a close connection here, and that otherwise the proper names are simply given one after the other. In order to make the passage clearer I have indicated the divisions by inserting numerals and by punctuating.

<sup>20</sup> We are probably to identify the “last god” directly with the Mother of the Pious, as an appositive. In the account of the fate of the Manichæan Elect after death, the soul in the last stages of its heavenly journey passes from Primal Man in the sun to the Mother of the Living and then merges into the Eternal Light of the Ruler of Paradise. [See differently, concerning the ‘last God’, Schæder, *Studien* (1926), p. 347 n. 3 end, who explains this as an allusion to the soul, remarking, ‘d.h. der letzte in dieser Liste genannte Gott, die “Seele”’, and refers to his previous observations in p. 259 bot. Look up also Scheftelowitz, *Die Entstehung* (1922), p. 64].

<sup>20a</sup> W. and L., *Die Stellung*, p. 40 bot., quote the original text here as FRYHRVŠN O NRYSF YZD O, but remark that the sign of punctuation must be an error, as the two designations stand in apposition. I might add that in the TPhl. texts the punctuation ring O is sometimes hardly more than a comma (.). Therefore not necessarily an error here in the case of an appositive.

<sup>21</sup> Observe that here the usual third leader, Mithra (Mišē, Tertius Legatus), is omitted and that Jesus, as an earlier Envoy, occupies the place. Compare the earlier footnote, n. 10. [Furthermore, concerning the Great Manūhmēd, see above, n. 11 end].

<sup>22</sup> Translated after Andreas in Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, pp. 4, 5. With reference to the Friend of Light (Narēsaf) uniting with other gods in a prayer to the Supreme Deity in this passage, we may compare what is stated below in regard to a petition made to him himself (as Messenger of Good Tidings), and his kindred divine associates, by the Five Angels in a similar, though somewhat different, situation as described in the Fihrist passage quoted below, p. 281 (passage before n. 29).

By combining this particular Turfan Pahlavi passage with the material cited above from the Soghdian, and by keeping in mind the three separate evocations recorded by the Syriac writer Theodore bar Khoni, we can deduce from the Manichæan Fragments themselves the following scheme so far as concerns the three separate divinities in each of the triune groups under consideration:—

- I. 1. The Supreme God.  
2. Mother of the Pious (or of the Living).  
3. Ormazd (Primal Man).
- II. 1. Friend of Light, Narēsaf.  
2. Bām.  
3. Living Spirit.
- III. 1. Mithra (Mīhr, Mišē).  
2. Light Maiden.  
3. Great Manūhmēd.<sup>23</sup>

From the fact that in the last-quoted Turfan Pahlavi Fragment the name Narēsaf is added as an explanation directly = orig. p. 143 after the Friend of Light, it becomes certain that we are now entitled to identify the Friend of Light with Narēsaf (or Narēsap), which is the TPhl. form of the Avestan Nairyōsanha (Av. *Nairyō-saṇha*, lit. "whose announcement is for mankind"), that angelic personage who is closely associated with the divine fire in Zoroastrianism and serves as a bearer of messages to men.<sup>24</sup> Elsewhere in the

<sup>23</sup> Notice that in Group III the last two gods are missing in bar Khoni; also that the order of the Mother and Ormazd in Group I is reversed in Frag. M. 2. [Concerning the above list of Gods see now also Schaefer, *Studien*, p. 347-348].

<sup>24</sup> See Jackson, in *Grundriss iran. Philol.*, ii, 641, 642. In view, therefore, of the material now available we are entitled to give up the suggestion made by Cumont, *Recherches*, i, 58-63, to identify with Neryosang the Third Messenger (Πρεσβ[ε]υτῆς ὁ Τρίτος, *Legatus Tertius* of Evodius). This latter personage is to be identified with Mithra; and thus the Friend of Lights would be the Second Messenger, Primal Man being the first. [Compare now a line from a Chinese

Fragments Narēsaf appears with a title of deification as “the divinity Narēsaf” (*bag Narēsap*) and is similarly alluded to in a hymn which has the caption “THE GOD NARĒSAP,” and begins: “Praise ye that Great Light” (NARĒSAP YAZD ‘*ištāvēd ’ō vazurg rōšan*).<sup>25</sup> Our results seem therefore conclusive for asserting that the Friend of Lights and Narēsap (himself a “Great Light”) are one and the same divine personage.

Furthermore, it is most likely that the Friend of Light (Narēsap) is also alluded to as “the God of the Light Realm” (*rōšanšah[r yazd]*) in the Turfan Pahlavi eschatological passage, M. 470 recto, ll. 14, 15 (= Mü. ii, p. 20), translated below (Section 2, near end), in which connection he appears out of the east at the time of the final World-Conflagration, as there described, when all the chief gods assemble. His position in the list, as coming directly after Ōhrmazd and before the God of the New Realm (i.e. the architect Bān), would support this interpretation, and will become clearer in the course of the discussion that follows in the second section with regard to the Great Bān. Thus much from the Fragments and bar Khoni.

Additional information as to the Friend of Light may be gathered in like manner from the Arabic account of Manichæism preserved in an-Nadīm’s *Fihrist*. In describing = orig. p. 144 the imprisonment and rescue of Primal Man the *Fihrist* (quoting from Mānī) states that—

Hymn cited by W. and L., *Stellung*, p. 41 top, where the Friend of Light is directly defined as the ‘Second Messenger.’]

<sup>25</sup> See Frag. M. 176 recto, l. 13, and M. 32 verso, caption with l. 1 (= Mü. ii, p. 60, end; p. 63, middle). In these passages the name is written as *Narēsap*, the dot over *p*, which turns it into *f* (the truer etymological form) being here omitted. [The identification, of the Friend of Light with Narēsap, is accepted by Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (1926), p. 40 mid., who cite a Soghdian Fragment which mentions ‘the very Beloved of the Lights, who is called Narēshankh’ (*n r y š n k*).].

"The King of the Paradises of Light sent other gods after him (i.e. after Primal Man) and liberated him and overcame Darkness; and the (advance) one who was sent after the [Primal] Man is called the Friend of the Lights (*Habīb-al-'Anwār*). He went down, and Primal Man became freed from the hellish things, together with that which had been caught and fettered by the Spirits of Darkness."<sup>26</sup>

Thus the Friend of Light, as an envoy, was instrumental in at least loosening the bonds of darkness by which Primal Man was encompassed, and his release follows through the agency of the Mother of Life and the Living Spirit who unite in restoring Primal Man to his celestial abode.<sup>27</sup>

This characteristic of the Friend of Light as a beneficent emissary helps to identify and explain him as the "Messenger of Good Tidings", or "Announcer of Salvation" (Arabic *al-Bashīr*, "der Heilsbote"),<sup>28</sup> under which title he is also mentioned three times in the Fihrist. Thus when Adam, like Primal Man, is overcome by darkness and lust, the Five Angels of Light join in petitioning the "Messenger of Good Tidings" (*al-Bashīr*), the Mother of Life, Primal Man also, and the Living Spirit—this is the well-known company—to send some one to redeem Adam and thus help towards the

<sup>26</sup> An-Nadīm's Fihrist, in Flügel, *Mani*, p. 54, l. 17 seq. (text), 88, ll. 2-9 (transl.); cf. complete edition of the Fihrist, ed. Flügel-Roediger-Müller, i, p. 329, l. 28; also the notes on the text, etc., *op. cit.*, ii, p. 165, n. 5, and p. 167, n. 1.

<sup>27</sup> For references to this latter event (including those recorded from the Fihrist in the preceding note) see Jackson, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1924, xlv, p. 64, n. 14. [Reprinted below in Study XIII, p. 326. See also Study IX, above.]

<sup>28</sup> Regarding this Arabic noun compare Steingass, *Pers.-Eng. Dict.*, p. 190, *bašīr*, "a messenger of good news." The verb *bašr*, "relating news," from which this substantive is derived, has especially a good sense; see also Arab. *bušrā*, "communicating good news; happy tidings," in Steingass, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

salvation of the future human race.<sup>29</sup> The petition is answered [= orig. p. 145] by their uniting in sending Jesus, "whom a God accompanied." This accompanying god may well have been likewise the Friend of Lights himself as a harbinger of glad tidings.<sup>30</sup>

Furthermore, in the special passage of the Fihrist which deals with Manichæan eschatology and corresponds closely with the TPhl. description of the Last Days (as referred to above and translated below in Section 2), it is plain that the Friend of Light, as emissary, is again spoken of as *al-Bashīr*, "Messenger of Good Tidings," who comes from the east at the end of the world amid the same glorious company of gods as at the beginning.<sup>31</sup>

In the same manner also is doubtless to be explained why the pious Manichæan, according to the Fihrist, is enjoined constantly to raise his "prayer to the Messenger of Good Tidings" (*al-Bashīr*), being a general allusion to this heavenly mediator for mankind.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 59 (text), 91 (transl.), with p. 250, n. 161 ("der Bote froher Kunde, Kunder froher Botschaft, Heilverkünder"); Kessler, *Mani*, p. 393 bot. ("der Heilsbote"). Cf. further n. 59a, below.

<sup>30</sup> I have since found a similar view to mine in Reitzenstein, *Das Mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, p. 90, n. 1, "wahrscheinlich der Freund des Lichtes."

<sup>31</sup> See transl. of the Fihrist paragraph in Section 2 below, p. 285 bot., and compare Kessler, *Mani*, p. 400, bottom ("Heilsbote von Osten"), as a correction of Flügel, p. 101, bottom ("Bewegung vom Osten").

<sup>32</sup> See Flügel, p. 65, l. 19 (text), 97 (transl.). Remember that Flügel, n. 344, pp. 310, 311, did not have the new material when he suggested to identify the Announcer of Good Tidings ("Heilverkünder") with the angel Taum in the Fihrist. Nor could Mānī himself (op. cit., p. 311) be looked upon more than as a later representative of such a Messenger. Furthermore, with reference to Narēsaf in general, it may be added that, since the appearance of the Fragments above cited, we may now transfer to him much of what was said by Cumont, *Recherches*, i, p. 63, n. 4, and p. 64, when he sought to identify Mithra



As a whole, the god who is the Friend of Light(s), Narēsaf, and Messenger of Good Tidings, may be regarded as one who holds a high rank in the Manichæan pantheon, standing next after Primal Man (Ormazd) and heading the Second Evocation, in which he immediately precedes the "Great Ban," who is to be described in the succeeding paragraphs.

= orig. p. 146 2. THE "GREAT BAN" (BĀN)

The "Great Ban", the middle member of the Second Evocation as recorded by Theodore bar Khoni, has long presented a problem with regard to identification. The intimation given above may now be elaborated so as to help towards a solution of the crux.

In the first place, although the name or title appears in slightly different forms in the several sources involved, it seems certain that Ban, or Bān ("the Great Ban"), in Theodore bar Khoni's Scholia<sup>33</sup> is the same as the god Ban (Bān), "Builder", in Saint Ephraim's Syriac Refutations,<sup>34</sup> and to be identified with Bam (Bām), however spelled, in the Soghdian Fragment M. 583 and the TPhl. Fragment M. 2, both of which have been quoted in Section 1 of the with Nairyōsaṇha (Narēsaf); see also note 24 above, on Πρεσβ[ε]υτήs ὁ Τπίρος. Finally, we may exclude Srōsh from any claim to this particular title of Messenger of Good Tidings (Narēsaf). He has other duties.

<sup>33</sup> See Pognon, pp. 127, 128 (text), 187, 190 (transl.). Thus, "Bān," Syr. *B n*. Consult also Cumont, *Recherches*, i, 20, n. 4, and p. 37, n. 4. [Cf. Eng. tr. of Theodore bar Khoni above in Study VIII, n. 23 and n. 88]. Consult also next note.

<sup>34</sup> See S. Ephraim, *Prose Refutations*, tr. C. W. Mitchell, i, pp. xxx, xlvii, lxxv (transl.) = text, p. 3, l. 32; p. 39, l. 20; p. 94, l. 42. Mitchell transliterates the name (Syr. *B n*) as Bān throughout. Similarly F. C. Burkitt as Bān, in *Journal of Religion*, ii, 274, Chicago, 1922. Compare preceding note. Therefore apparently Ban or Bān, according as one vocalizes the text; but Bān is preferable. See below, note 37.

present paper,<sup>35</sup> and with Bannā', the architect, in the Fihrist, as brought out below. The intermediate position which this Manichæan god holds between the Friend of Light and the Living Spirit in each of the lists that have been quoted assures the correctness of this identification in general. Details follow.

As to his characteristics it will next be recalled that according to Theodore bar Khoni the Great Bān is charged with the ideal construction of the "New Earth" which is to play a part in connection with the End of the World.<sup>36</sup> This sufficiently shows the celestial side of his functions as = orig. p. 147 architect, as distinguished from the more material activity of the Living Spirit.<sup>37</sup>

In the light of this rather spiritualized rôle we may turn now to the Syriac of Ephraim, where we find Bān especially engaged to construct the Grave in which the elements of the Powers of Darkness will finally be buried. The first passage from Saint Ephraim (citing Manichæan authority) reads as follows: "The Architect and Builder of that Grave, as their account says, is one—whoever he may be—whose name is Bān, who in the days of his adversity became the fashioner of the Grave of the Darkness."<sup>38</sup> In another passage Ephraim similarly speaks of

<sup>35</sup> Andreas (in Reitzenstein, *Die Göttin Psyche*, pp. 4, 5) transcribes the name throughout as Bām; this accords with the spelling "Spond-ārmūt", which he adopts for the familiar Spendārmāt. See preceding note, end.

<sup>36</sup> See Theodore bar Khoni, tr. Pognon, p. 190, and cf. Cumont, i, p. 37. [Refer also to Eng. tr. above in Study VIII. Furthermore, regarding the architect Bān and the New Realm, cf. Jackson, *JAOS.* (1930), 50. 194-197].

<sup>37</sup> The correspondence of Bān with a common Semitic verbal root signifying "to build" is easily recognized. [The similarly sounding Persian word *Bām*, 'dawn', is substituted for it in the Iranian texts. See Schaeder, *Studien*, p. 243 n. 2; cf. also his *Urform*, p. 135 n. 2].

<sup>38</sup> See S. Ephraim, op. cit., p. xxx. For help with the Syriac text (besides Mitchell's translation) I am indebted to my Assistant, Dr. A. Yohannan, of Columbia University. [He died Nov. 9, 1925].

"the great Earth from which Băn the Builder cut whole stones for the Grave of the Darkness".<sup>39</sup> Twice again Ephraim refers to "Băn the Builder", and to "that wise Builder and Architect" who frames this grave and great pit.<sup>40</sup>

From these various Syriac allusions it will be seen that Băn, or Ban (cf. Soghd. Bām above, p. 283 = orig. p. 146), figures as the great architect in the spiritual universe, more especially in connection with affairs at the end of the world. It has been emphasized above (p. 273 = orig. p. 139) that in the creation of the visible world itself he assigns most of his demiurgic duties to the Living Spirit whom he evoked to carry out his plans. Băn is therefore the higher power, standing back of the active agency of the Living Spirit (see below), and coming himself into play when the ideal rôle is to be assumed. This relation between the two personages must be constantly borne in mind when dealing with Manichæan cosmogony.

Still further proof for the fact that Băn (Ban, Bām) is to be regarded pre-eminently as the Architect is found in the = orig. p. 148 well-known eschatological passage of the Fihrist, where his fashioning of the New Paradise hereafter is referred to and he is called "the Great Builder" (Arabic *al-Bannā' al-Kathīr*).<sup>41</sup> In this particular passage an account is given of several of the Powers of Light that appear at the end of the world, when the final order of the universe is instituted, and join in inspecting the New Paradise. The Fihrist paragraph runs thus:—

"Hereupon Primal Man will come from the world of the Pole Star<sup>41a</sup> (i.e. the north); and the Messenger of

<sup>39</sup> Ephraim, *op. cit.*, p. xlvii.

<sup>40</sup> See Ephraim, pp. lxxv, xxxv.

<sup>41</sup> The correct pointing of the first word as *bannā'* "builder" is due to Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xliii, 546, where he translates by "der grosse Baumeister".

<sup>41a</sup> So Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, instead of 'the world of Capricornus.'

Good Tidings from the east;<sup>42</sup> and the Great Builder from the south;<sup>43</sup> and the Spirit of Life from the world of the west.<sup>44</sup> And they will view the great structure which is the New Paradise, (and) going round about that Hell, they then will look at it.”<sup>45</sup>

This Arabic passage, as previously noted by F. W. K. Müller, runs closely parallel with a description in the following Turfan Pahlavi Fragment M. 470 (= Mü. ii, p. 20), and affords additional evidence that the Great Builder is there referred to under the designation “God of the New Realm from the south”. The text in Turfan Pahlavi (some of the emendations being new) is as follows:—

*’Ōhrmīzdbē (= bar) a[č]  
abarag pādḡōs vā Rōšanšah[r Yazd]  
ač xvarāsān o vā Nōg [Ša]hr///  
Yazd ač ’ērag o vā Mihr [Yazd ač]  
xvarnivār pādḡōs o ////  
padīštān ač xvēš [pādḡōs o?]  
hamīs abar hān [rās ’i]*

<sup>42</sup> This Messenger is the Friend of Light, see above, p. 281-2 = orig. pp. 144-5.

<sup>43</sup> Observe that here, as also in TPhl. Frag. 470, translated just below, the Great Builder comes from the south; but in Soghd. Frag. M. 583 (rendered above, p. 276 = orig. p. 141 top) Bām comes from the west. Compare the remarks below, n. 47, espec. end.

<sup>44</sup> [Regarding the clause, “the Spirit of Life from the world of the west,” in this Fihrist paragraph, notice that in the parallel passage in TPhl. Frag. M. 470 (next treated), we have ‘Mihr [the God] from the western region.’ In Theodore bar Khoni (see above, Study VIII, p. 240) the Third Messenger (= Mihr) was evoked by the Great Father in answer to the prayer of the Mother of Life, Primal Man, and the Living Spirit].

<sup>45</sup> See Flügel, p. 71, l. 14 seq. (text), pp. 101, 102 (transl.); Kessler, pp. 400, 401. Compare also the revised rendering by F. W. K. Müller, *HR.* 2, p. 20.

= orig. p. 149 *Vahīštāv 'ī Nōg [Šahr o vā]* <sup>46</sup>  
*Āyab 'ī [tā]*  
*nīyašānd o*

"The divinity 'Öhrmazd (i.e. Primal Man) (will come) from the northern region; and [the God] of the Light Realm (i.e. Friend of Light, Narēsaf) from the east; and the God of the New Realm (i.e. Bān) from the south; (and) [the God] Mihr from the western region.<sup>47</sup> [They will take] their stations from (i.e. according to) their own [regions], together above that [Mystery of] the Paradise which is the New [Realm], and will look down upon that Hell which [is dark?]." <sup>48</sup>

In view of the evidence thus presented as a sequel to that regarding the Friend of Light, it seems certainly justifiable to conclude that the identity of "the great Ban" (or Bān, Bām), as middle member in the Second Evocation, is established, being that of the Builder.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> The broken words in these two lines are here conjecturally restored on the basis of *rās 'ī vazurg vahīšt 'ī nōg* in M. 98 b, ll. 5, 6 (= Mū. ii, p. 39), and *šahr 'ī nōg* in M. 482 verso, ll. 12, 13 (= Mū. ii, p. 17). [Or we might read *Vahīštāv 'ī Nōg [o vā abar] Āyab*].

<sup>47</sup> Notice that, conversely, in Sogh. Frag. M. 583 (translated above, p. 276 = p. 141 top) the god Mithra (Mišē) comes from the east, and the Friend of Light from the west, if Andreas translates correctly. But it is possible that the marshalling of the gods in that Fragment was for a different purpose than that which is represented in the present assembling. Cf. further, n. 43 above.

<sup>48</sup> M. 470 recto, ll. 13-22 (= Mū. ii, p. 20). [Query? Supply as \* [*dāš*]*tā[rīg]*, 'evilly dark?']

<sup>49</sup> It is interesting to add that in a tenth century anti-Manichæan ecclesiastical letter the name Bān (adopted from the god's name) appears to have been borne by a heretic who is opprobriously spoken of as the "impious Baanes"—ὁ πονηρὸς Βαάνης—being anathematized in a long list of false teachers, like Scythianus, Terebinthus, Boudes, Manes, etc., recalling in a way the Gk. Formula of Abjuration. This document exists in the form of a letter written by Bishop Theophylactus, Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 933-56; see *Bull. Acad.*

## 3. THE LIVING SPIRIT

The characteristics of the Living Spirit as the third member of the group are much better known, but it is appropriate here to supplement the previously available sources by the = orig. p. 150 Manichæan texts themselves. Prior to the discovery of these documents in Central Asia, the non-Manichæan material relating to him<sup>50</sup> had been collected by the various scholars writing about Mānī's religion from the time of Beausobre to Baur, Flügel, and the rest.<sup>51</sup>

For example, in Greek this active power is spoken of as Ζῶν Πνεῦμα (Lat. version, *Spiritus Vivens*) in the *Acta Archelai*, according to which source, as elsewhere, he is sent to rescue Primal Man and afterwards creates the cosmos, overcoming the Princes of Darkness and appearing again with the other gods at the end of the world.<sup>52</sup>

In Alexander of Lycopolis (chap. iii) he is called the "Demiurge" (Δημιουργός); and Mānī's view is said to be that when the soul (of Primal Man) was imprisoned by Darkness, "God felt compassion at this and sent a certain other Power (δύναμιν) whom we call *Demiurge*; and when this Power had come and had taken in hand the creation of the world it separated from matter as much of the [luminous] force as had suffered no defilement from the *Impér. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 1913, pp. 366, 367 (cl. hist. philos., Russian lang.). I owe this reference to my pupil Mr. Victor N. Sharenkoff.

<sup>50</sup> As an active agent the Living Spirit is generally conceived of as a masculine personality, but also as neuter or feminine where grammatical gender is involved. We must remember that sex plays no part in these Manichæan abstract personifications. Cf. Cumont (and Kugener), *Recherches*, i, p. 31, n. 1, and p. 18, n. 1.

<sup>51</sup> I. Beausobre, *Hist. Man.*, ii, 358-70; F. C. Baur, *Man. Religions-system*, pp. 68-71; Flügel, pp. 208, 209, 211, 251, 352, 353; Cumont, pp. 25-26 f.; Legge, ii, 302, n. 1.

<sup>52</sup> Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, vii, 4; viii, 1; xiii, 4 (ed. Beeson, pp. 10-12, 21).

mixture [with Darkness] and (thus) the sun and moon were first brought into being"; and, directly afterwards, Alexander again mentions this creative agent as "the Demiurge".<sup>53</sup>

The same designation, Demiurge, is employed in the Greek Formula of Abjuration to be recited by Manichæans accepting Christianity, the convert being required to renounce, among other things, a belief in "the so-called Demiurge" (τὸν orig. p. 151 καλούμενον Δημιουργόν).<sup>54</sup> Regarding the special relation of the Living Spirit as Demiurge to Bān the Architect, sufficient has been said above in Section 2.

St. Augustine knew well about the creative activity of the Living Spirit, including the familiar story of his having used the bodies of the Princes of Darkness in forming the world. Thus, in addressing the Manichæan Faustus (*Contra Faustum*, xx, 9), he speaks of "your Mighty Spirit who fashions the world from the captive bodies of the race of Darkness" (*Spiritus Potentem . . . mundum fabricantem*); and again (chap. xx, 10) he refers to this powerful agent as that "other god (who) fashions the world (*fabricat mundum*) from that captive race". The great Church Father, moreover, correctly represents the Christian colouring taken on in certain phases of Manichæism, when he makes Faustus (*op. cit.*, xx, 1) identify the Living Spirit with the Holy Ghost by saying: "We Manichæans likewise believe that the Holy Spirit, the Third Majesty, has his seat and his abode in the whole circle of the atmosphere."<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xv, 6, mentions, as do all

<sup>53</sup> See Alex. Lycop., *Contra Manichæi Opinionēs*, chap. iii, mid.; chap. iv, beginning (ed. Brinkmann, p. 6, ll. 6-11, 22).

<sup>54</sup> See text of *Gk. Formula Abjurat.*, § 2, in Kessler, *Mani*, p. 403, transl. p. 360, with n. 5.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. also Legge, *Rivals*, ii, 302, n. 1, and pp. 319-20. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xx, 6, end, refers back to this designation "the Holy Spirit in the air".

the sources, the Five Sons of the Living Spirit, a discussion of which topic is reserved for elsewhere. [Cf. Study XI, below].

The Syriac scholiast, Theodore bar Khoni, describes, somewhat elaborately, how the Living Spirit (*Rūhā Hayyā*) is called into being, his subsequent evocation of Five Sons as assistants in his work, his going to the rescue of Primal Man, and the striking incident of the Appellant voice and the answer of the Respondent.<sup>56</sup> He furthermore portrays vividly the energetic rôle played by this living personality in destroying and flaying the Archons, whose skins are spread out to form the ten heavens and their bodies used to make = orig. p. 152 the eight earths, and also his creating other agencies that serve towards the final separation of the elements of light which had become mixed with darkness.<sup>57</sup>

Passing to the Muhammadan sources we may state that in the Arabic Fihrist (as in the Syriac Scholia above) the Living Spirit, or "Spirit of Life" (*Rūḥ al-Ḥayāt*),<sup>58</sup> joins with the Mother of Life ("Joyousness") in delivering Primal Man<sup>59</sup> and later unites with her and others in arranging to have Jesus sent to save Adam.<sup>59a</sup> Moreover, when

<sup>56</sup> A treatment of this whole incident is kept for later. [In part see above, Study IX, p. 259 f.].

<sup>57</sup> See Theodore bar Khoni, tr. Pognon, pp. 187-9; Cumont, *Recherches*, i, 20-9. [See tr. above in Study VIII, p. 233 f.]. It may be added that St. Ephraim's *Prose Refutations*, in Syriac, do not mention by name either the Living Spirit or the Friend of Light, but only Bān; see ed. Mitchell-Burkitt-Bevan, ii, p. cxxxv, n. 1. In *op. cit.*, i, p. xxxv, Ephraim ascribes to "Primal Man" the flaying of the Archons and the construction of sky and earth from their skins and bodies. [Cf. Study XII, below].

<sup>58</sup> Flügel, *Mani*, p. 59, l. 2, etc.

<sup>59</sup> See Jackson, *JAOS.* xlv, p. 64, n. 14 (with references). [Reprinted below, in Study XIII, p. 326, n. 14. See also above, Study IX, n. 8].

<sup>59a</sup> So the Fihrist; see Flügel, *Mani*, p. 59 (text), p. 91 (transl.). Cf. also n. 29, above.



the end of the world comes to pass and the other gods assemble, "the Spirit of Life will come from the world of the west."<sup>60</sup> The noted Albīrūnī also mentions this god by name when he says: "He (Mānī) preached of the Worlds of Light, of the Primal Man, and of the Spirit of Life."<sup>61</sup>

We are now prepared to turn to the remains of the actual Manichæan texts as furnishing direct information at first hand.

In the Turfan Pahlavi Fragment M. 47 verso, ll. 8, 9, there is found in a description of Paradise, which is accorded in a vision, a mention of the Living Spirit as the "Immortal Wind (Spirit) of Life".<sup>62</sup> A fragmentary section of a hymn (M. 555) contains, moreover, the exhortation = orig. p. 153 "Praise ye the Gods and sing with the song of the Life[-giving] Spirit".<sup>63</sup> Again, in two other TPhl. Fragments which record the Manichæan parallel above to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the last is named as the "Pure (Holy) Spirit"—Vākhsh Yōzhdahr—this latter epithet being glossed in the Pahlavi dialect (Soghdian) version as Zaparṭ vākhsh (Holy Spirit).<sup>64</sup> In still another

<sup>60</sup> For text see Flügel, p. 71, l. 15, and tr. p. 100 top; also compare the translation of this passage as given above, near end of Section 2.

<sup>61</sup> Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, tr. E. Sachau, p. 190, ll. 13-15.

<sup>62</sup> M. 47 v., ll. 8, 9, *vād anōšag ēē žīvaḥr*. See Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, ii, p. 84. For the spelling of *žīvaḥr* "life", cf. Bartholomae, *Zum Airw.*, p. 52 n. In this connection as to "wind" = "spirit", recall that in the ninth century Pahlavi book *Shikand-Gūmānīg Vīzhār*, xv, 7, the Christian term for Holy Spirit is translated (cf. Lat. *Spiritus*) by Phl. *vāṭ ī pāk* "the Pure Wind", in referring to Mary's conceiving Jesus.

<sup>63</sup> M. 555 (= Mū. ii, p. 74), *vāxš zīnd[kar]* "the spirit life[-giving]".

<sup>64</sup> See M. 17 recto, b, ll. 5-6 (= Mū. ii, p. 26 top), also M. 172 verso, l. 11 (= Mū. ii, pp. 101, 103). The more exact transliteration (of *ksh* and *zh*) is given by *vāxš yōzhdahr*. In l. 9 (*loc. cit.*) compare also "dialectic" (Soghdian) *zaparṭvāxšīy* as a gloss of *vābarīgūn*. [Regarding Soghd. *zprt* γš-, 'Saint-Esprit,' etymologically, see now E. Benveniste, *Grammaire Sogdienne* (1929), part 2, p. 102 bot., 170 bot.]

Fragment, M. 4 f, line 19, containing hymns and praises, this same "Pure (Holy) Spirit" is invoked among the divine beings and angels.<sup>65</sup> Finally, it is quite certain that the creative Spirit of Life is the initiating agent in each stage of the cosmogonic process that is recorded in the long Cosmological Fragment M. 98-9, the lost introduction to which doubtless contained direct mention of the Living Spirit by name.<sup>66</sup> Every step of the process, the binding of the demons, creation of the sun and moon, preparing the several earths with their arrangements of columns, vaulted arches, protecting walls and moats, corresponds closely with what we can gather from other sources, particularly the Chinese Manichæan Treatise mentioned below. The Turfan P a h l a v i Fragments therefore bear direct testimony to that which is given elsewhere concerning the Spirit who is Life.

In one old Turkish Manichæan Fragment, preserved in Runic characters, the term "Pure Spirit"—borrowed from the Iranian—is preserved.<sup>67</sup> But the common designation of the Living Spirit in the Turkish Fragments is *Wadziwantag* or *Wadziwanta*, that is Wādzhī-wantag, "Wind [= orig. p. 154] (Spirit) of Life," based directly on a presumable Iranian *Vād-živandag*.<sup>67a</sup> The fragmentary

Cf. furthermore, Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (1926), p. 34 mid.; id. *JRAS.* 1926, p. 121 f., where they have recorded the term *vād živandag*, 'the Living Spirit,' in a Middle Persian Manichaean hymn that is phonetically transcribed in Chinese characters].

<sup>65</sup> M. 46, l. 19 (= Mū. ii, p. 58), *vāxš yōždahṛ*.

<sup>66</sup> For the text of this Cosmological Fragment (M. 98-9), with a German version, see Müller, ii, pp. 37-43. [Now see above, Study II, for a translation of this important Fragment].

<sup>67</sup> Irano-Turkish *vā[xš] yōždah[r]*, see Turkish Runic Frag. M. 339 b, in Salemann, *Manichaica*, iii, p. 30; cf. also Le Coq, *Köktürkisches aus Turfan*, in *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, xli, 1061, Berlin, 1909.

<sup>67a</sup> [This Iranian term has since been actually found also in a Chinese passage, phonetically transcribed from Middle Persian; see above, n. 64 end.]

Manichæan remains in this language, as in the other sources, record that "the God Wādzhīwantag" (*Wadži-wantag T(ä)ngri*) unites with the Mother of Life in the liberation of Primal Man.<sup>68</sup> This god's creative energy is shown (in the special Fragment referred to) by an allusion to the formation of the ten heavens, the earth, the constellations of the Zodiac, and the fettering of the demons.<sup>69</sup> Consequently the weight of a great, mighty mountain of "the God Wādzhīwanta(g)" presses down to earth the hugest of the demons, while as a triumphant god he proceeds to "tuck up his robe in the tenfold heaven and don the water-god as his shield" when worsting the rest of the demoniacal host.<sup>70</sup> His strength is therefore synonymous with supreme might.<sup>71</sup> In another Turkish Fragment (astronomical in its nature) he is mentioned with the Mother-Goddess and the Sun-God in connection with the palace of the sun.<sup>72</sup>

In the Chinese Manichæan Treatise from Tuen-Huang, translated by Chavannes and Pelliot,<sup>73</sup> the Living Spirit appears as *Tsing-fong* "Pure Wind". The main characteristics recur as elsewhere and serve to support what is generally known about him, while additional data contribute certain supplementary items. In brief, this pure

<sup>68</sup> See Turkish Frag. T. II, D. 173 b recto, ll. 16-20, verso, ll. 1-4 (Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, i, pp. 13, 14; cf. pp. 40, 41, in *Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1911. [See also above, Study IX].

<sup>69</sup> T. II, D. 173 b verso, ll. 4-20; see Le Coq, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

<sup>70</sup> T. II, D. 121 recto, ll. 12-15, verso, ll. 6-19 (Le Coq, *Türk. Manich.*, iii, pp. 8-9).

<sup>71</sup> T. II, D. 171 verso, ll. 11-12 (Le Coq, op. cit., i, p. 24), *qad(a)ran . . . wadži(w)nta t(ä)ngri*.

<sup>72</sup> T.M. 291 recto, ll. 9-11 seq. (Le Coq, op. cit., iii, p. 7 bot.). [Cf. now a passage in a Chinese hymn H, in Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 119 bot., where 'the Pure Wind of Life' is praised, together with the Splendor of the Sun and the Mother of Compassion; cf. also id. in *JRAS.* 1926, p. 120 and n. 2].

<sup>73</sup> See Chavannes and Pelliot, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1911, pp. 499-590 (French transl.), 591-617 (Chinese text).

spirit, Tsing-fong, joins in saving Primal Man "from the five caverns of darkness",<sup>74</sup> and in creating the ten heavens, eight earths, [= orig. p. 155] the revolving wheel of the Zodiac,<sup>75</sup> together with other good agencies that have to do with releasing the imprisoned light.<sup>76</sup> To his creation are due Mount Wei-lao-kiu-fou (Mt. Meru) and the lesser mountains, as well as the oceans and rivers.<sup>77</sup> Due to him also is the chaining of the demons whom his Five Sons help to keep imprisoned and in order in the universe.<sup>78</sup> Especially to be noted likewise is the fact that in one passage he is represented under the designation of the "Spirit (lit. Wind) of the Pure Law", as being united with the Father of Light and the Son of Light in the sort of Trinity which has been referred to already.<sup>79</sup>

In this connection, moreover, observe that there is an allusion also in the Chinese Treatise to "the Pure, Marvelous Wind (Spirit) which is a white dove".<sup>80</sup> This Christian image of the Holy Spirit as the "white dove" recalls the argument maintained by Mānī (Manes), in disputing with Bishop Archelaus concerning the dove which descended upon Jesus at his baptism.<sup>81</sup>

It is hoped that this study, based upon the various sources, especially drawing upon and combining the

<sup>74</sup> *JA.* 1911, pp. 510-14.

<sup>75</sup> *JA.* 1911, pp. 514-15. As to the constellations of the Zodiac ("wheel of revolutions") see *JA.* 1913, p. 102, and compare Le Coq, *Türk. Manich.*, i, p. 15, line 17, and p. 39, n. 18. The stars were created after the sun and moon according to Alexander of Lycopolis, chap. iii, and Theodore bar Khoni, p. 189 ("the lights more than a thousand" = stars; or, as others translate, "the lights (i.e. stars) in addition to the ships (i.e. sun and moon)"). [See Study VIII n. 63].

<sup>76</sup> *JA.* 1911, pp. 516-17, 531, 533.

<sup>77</sup> *JA.* 1911, pp. 518-19.

<sup>78</sup> *JA.* 1911, pp. 518-19.

<sup>79</sup> See *JA.* 1911, p. 556, with n. 2, and p. 510, n. 4.

<sup>80</sup> See *JA.* 1911, p. 557, with n. 2.

<sup>81</sup> Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 59 (50), 5, ed. Beeson, p. 86.

Manichæan Fragments themselves, may result in bringing out some new points with regard to the Friend of Lights and "the Great Ban", and be likewise of some service through its bringing together all the material thus far available in regard to the Living Spirit as the third personage in the Second Evocation visualized by Mānī in his cosmogonic system.

Read at the R A S Centenary,

July 18, 1923.

[Additions, December, 1930]

## STUDY XI

### THE FIVE SONS OF THE LIVING SPIRIT

In Theodore bar Khoni's account of the formation of the cosmos by the Living Spirit, this creative agent evoked 'Five Sons' directly after he himself had been called into existence by the Supreme Being. These sons are brought into being to serve the Living Spirit as assistants in constructing and managing the visible universe and are evoked by the demiurgic Power out of the five mental concepts which he shares in common with the Godhead. The names given to these Five Sons are characteristic of Mānī's fondness for picturesque titles. The first passage in bar Khoni's narrative may be translated from the Syriac as follows:<sup>1</sup>

'The Living Spirit evoked his<sup>2</sup> Five Sons: (1) the Custody of Splendor,<sup>3</sup> from his Intelligence; (2) the

<sup>1</sup> See translation above, with notes, Study VIII n. 25, p. 229; and cf. Pognon, p. 187; Cumont, p. 22; Schaeder, *Studien*, p. 343 bot.

<sup>2</sup> The Syriac pronoun here is in the masculine owing to *rūḥā* (here masc.). See above, Study VIII n. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. *ṣafath zīwā*: lit. 'care of luminosity' (so Yohannan interpreted the text); see Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, 1618, 3429, *ṣafath*, 'care, solicitude,' an abstract word (not a noun of agency) which, if the idea of 'custody' be adopted, may be understood as meaning the 'Keeping (or protection) of Splendor.' This idea of custodianship would not only accord with that conveyed by the Greek and Latin renderings *Φεγγαγότροχος*, *Splenditenens*, cited below, but would also receive additional support from the actual Manichaean name *Pāḥragbēd*, lit. 'protection-lord,' 'Lord of Protection (Keeping)' or the 'Guarding Lord,' as found in the Turfan Pahlavi documents that are quoted below. Possibly a similar conception inheres in the Chinese designation of this luminous figure as 'l'Envoyé de la Lumière qui m a i n - t i e n t le monde' (*tch'e-che ming-che*), see *JA*. 1911, p. 549 n. 2.—On

Great King of Honor,<sup>4</sup> from his Knowledge; (3) the Adamas Light,<sup>5</sup> from his Reason; (4) the King of Glory,<sup>6</sup> from his Thought; (5) and (lit. 'but') the Supporter,<sup>7</sup> from his Deliberation.'

Theodore bar Khoni further defines their respective offices shortly afterwards (as quoted in our next paragraph), and the Five are alluded to elsewhere by the Christian and Mohammedan writers on Manichaeism in Greek, Latin, Syriac and Arabic, as well as in the Turfan Pahlavi and the Chinese and Turkish Manichaean texts, duly cited below. While the names by which they are designated may vary, the general character of each figure can be recognized when the various passages are combined. The functions of the other hand it must be stated that in his translation of Theodore bar Khoni (p. 187 n. 3) Pognon, while allowing that the Syriac words might mean 'le soin de la lumière,' which he doubts, suggested reasons for translating the phrase as 'l'Ornement de la lumière.' In this he is followed by Cumont (and Kugener), p. 22 n. 1, who render by 'l'Ornement de Splendeur.' Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees*, p. 28 n. 1 (and earlier in *Journ. of Theology*, vol. 2, p. 272 n. 1), proposes 'Tongs of Brilliance.' Tentatively I adopt 'Custody (Keeping) of Splendor,' as nearest to the noun denoting guardianship in the TPhl. designation *Pāhrag-bēd*, 'Lord of Protection' (cf. Av. *pāθra*, 'protection, keeping, guardianship'), as above noted.

<sup>4</sup>Syr. *malkā rabbā d'iqārā*. To be identified with Augustine's 'Rex Honoris,' see further information below (p. 309 f.) regarding the name 'Wind-raising God' applied to this divinity, in the Turfan Pahlavi Fragments, and the descriptive title 'Great King of the Ten Heavens' used in the Chinese Treatise, p. 312 below.

<sup>5</sup>Syr. *Ādāmōs nūhrā*, so here and at p. 130 l. 7 (Pognon), but 'Adamos' is less correct than 'Adamas' as shown by St. Augustine's 'Adamantem heroam' in *Contra Faust*. (Migne, 42. col. 309). See Cumont, p. 22 n. 3 and p. 23 n. 3, as well as Cumont's article on 'Adamas,' in *Mélanges . . . Havel*, p. 77-82, cf. above, Bibliography, p. xxix.

<sup>6</sup>Syr. *m<sup>e</sup>lēk<sup>h</sup> šub<sup>h</sup>hā*, 'Gloriosus Rex.' Cf. Cumont, p. 22 n. 4.

<sup>7</sup>Syr. *sabbālā*, so Yohannan, but Cumont, *sāb<sup>h</sup>lā*, referring to the 'Supporter,' i.e. Atlas, Ὀμοφóρος. See note by Kugener in Cumont, *Rech.* 1. p. 22 n. 5, and especially Cumont's appendix on Omophoros, *op. cit.* p. 69-75.

these valiant assistants are associated, as would be natural, with the work of the Living Spirit in constructing and ordering the world which is brought into existence after Primal Man is rescued. In each of the accounts as given, we must always bear in mind that the two principal figures correspond respectively to the special god (Splenditenens, etc.) who holds the tenfold heavens suspended from above, and to the one matching Atlas (or Omophoros, etc.) who supports the burden of the eightfold earths from beneath. The other three sons of the Living Spirit likewise have each his own particular duty of service to perform, as will next be shown.

Significant in this respect are the following passages from Theodore bar Khoni.

'The Living Spirit thereupon gave command to three of his Sons,<sup>8</sup> the one (= Adamas, the Belligerent Hero) to kill, the other (= King of Glory) to flay the Archons, the Sons of Darkness, and that they (= including the Great King of Honor)<sup>9</sup> should deliver (them) to the Mother of Life (or, of the Living). The Mother of Life (or, of the Living) spread out the heaven with their skins and made ten (Ms. wrongly reads 'eleven') Heavens, and they threw their bodies to the Earth of Darkness, and they made eight earths. And the Five Sons were inducted each one into his task. (It was) the Custody (?) of Splendor (*Ṣafath Zīwā*, Splenditenens) who held the Five Luminous Gods (= the Five Good Elements) by their

<sup>8</sup> For an explanation as to which three of the five sons of the Living Spirit are here meant see above, Study VIII n. 45.

<sup>9</sup> The activity of the third son (= King of Honor) is not defined, but the note given above (Study VIII n. 45) indicates that he is included in the task that is involved. He is mentioned directly afterwards and was certainly one of the 'three servitors' alluded to later on and as finally taking his seat in the midst of heaven and keeping guard over everything. See above, Study VIII n. 45, n. 59, and n. 86.



waists; and below their waists were spread out the heavens. (It was) the Supporter (*Sabbālā*, Atlas, etc.) who kneels on one knee and bears the earths. The Great King of Honor (*malikā rabbā d'iqārā*, Rex Honoris), after the heavens and the earths were made, sits in the midst of heaven and keeps guard over them all.' <sup>10</sup>

Theodore bar Khoni follows this paragraph almost immediately by a reference to 'the (three) Wheels, (namely) the Wind, and the Water and the Fire,' which the Living Spirit next formed and 'made to glide below near the Supporter (Atlas).' <sup>11</sup> From other sources we know that these three Wheels were in charge of one of the Sons, namely, Gloriosus Rex, or by whatever name he is called in these sources, as will be pointed out in the course of the article. It is this same 'King of Glory' who made a 'covering' for these Wheels in order to protect them from the venom of the Archons when the wheels were raised heavenward to be 'of service to the Five Luminous Gods,' or Elements of Light. <sup>12</sup>

Moreover, the King of Glory, the Adamas-Light, and the King of Honor are plainly alluded to later in this text as 'the Three Servitors' who, at the Third Messenger's bidding, set the sun and moon in rotation when motion was given to the heavenly orbs as we learn from Theodore. <sup>13</sup> These and kindred matters receive illumination next from passages in Saint Augustine.

<sup>10</sup> See translation above, Study VIII, p. 233 (with detailed footnotes), and cf. Pognon, p. 188-189; Cumont, p. 25-26; Schaeder, *Studien*, p. 344 bot.

<sup>11</sup> See translation above, Study VIII, p. 238 f.; cf. also Pognon, p. 189; Cumont, p. 31, 32; Schaeder, p. 345 top.

<sup>12</sup> See translation above, Study VIII, n. 70, 72, with references.

<sup>13</sup> See transl. above, Study VIII, n. 86, 87; and cf. Pognon, p. 189-190; Cumont, p. 37; Schaeder, p. 345 mid.

Augustine's several statements, as a former Manichaean Auditor, help to clarify this allusion in the later Syriac Scholiast, not only with regard to the two major divine figures which hold the heavens suspended from above and the earths supported from below, but also in respect to their brother collaborators in maintaining the order of the universe. Thus the Church Father (*Contra Faustum*, 15. 5) answers Faustus with vituperation:

'Show us thy adulterers, Splenditenens the weigher (*ponderatorem*, i.e. as the balancer above) and Atlas the carrier (*laturarium*). For thou sayest that the former holds the heads (*capita*) of the Elements and suspends the World; but the latter, with knee fixed, bears up the great mass on his strong shoulder-blades, so that the other (i.e. Splenditenens) may not give out.'<sup>14</sup>

With fuller detail Augustine goes on further (*Contra Faust.* 15. 6):

'Hast thou, then, seen face to face . . . the great Splenditenens, having six countenances and mouths,—him that flasheth with light; and the other, the King of Honor, surrounded by armies of angels; and the other, the beligerent hero Adamas, holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left; likewise the other, the Glorious King setting in motion the three Wheels of Fire, Water and Wind; and also Atlas the greatest, bearing the World on his shoulders and propping it, on bent knee, with his arms on either side?'<sup>15</sup>

Equally noteworthy is another passage in Saint Augustine (*Contra Faustum*, 20. 10) which designates these Five

<sup>14</sup> Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 15. 5 (Migne, *PL.* 42. 307); cf. Flügel, p. 222; Baur, p. 79.

<sup>15</sup> Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 15. 6 (Migne, 42. 309); cf. also Flügel, p. 222; Baur, p. 81.

Sons, together with the Living Spirit, by their respective activities (not names), though the order of the five differs slightly:

'One (= Adamas) <sup>16</sup> worsts in battle (*expugnat*) the race of Darkness, another (the Living Spirit) constructs the world from that captured (race); another (= Splenditenens) holds the world suspended (*suspendit*) from above; another (= Atlas) supports (*portat*) it below; another (= Gloriosus Rex) turns the Wheels (*rotas*) of the Fires, Winds, and Waters in the lowest depth (*in imo*); another (= Rex Honoris), going round in heaven with his rays, gathers the members of your God (Primal Man) even from sewers.' <sup>17</sup>

Several times elsewhere Augustine refers to the two principal figures, but the most significant of these allusions is found in a chapter of *Contra Faustum*, 20. 9. There, after stigmatizing the Manichaean belief with the words, 'thy illustrious Holder of Splendor and Atlas, who supports him, are unreal beings' (*C.F.* 20. 9, near beginning), he goes on (*C.F.* 20. 9, near end) to speak of

'Splenditenens, having in his hand the remains (*reliquias*) of those same members (i.e. the Elements) of your God (Primal Man), and bewailing all the rest (i.e. of these elemental members which had been contaminated by Darkness) as captured, crushed,

<sup>16</sup> This interpretation as referring to the belligerent Adamas is certainly better in this connection than to refer it to Primal Man.

<sup>17</sup> Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 20. 10 (Migne, 42. 376 top); cf. also Baur, p. 81; Cumont, p. 23 n. 4; esp. likewise, Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 179-180. Cumont (loc. cit. end) seems to have some hesitation in adopting Bousset's proposal to identify the last mentioned figure with Rex Honoris, but the hesitation appears hardly justifiable, judging from other allusions to this divine personage.

defiled;<sup>18</sup> and Atlas, the Greatest, underneath, bearing on his shoulders (all the rest) with him (i.e. with Splenditenens) lest that one (Splenditenens), becoming wearied, cast away the whole.’<sup>19</sup>

Hence the Church Father likewise asks Faustus (*C.F.* 32. 19):

‘How dost thou know (*unde scis*) there are eight earths and ten heavens; (furthermore) that Atlas bears the world, Splenditenens holds it suspended (*suspendat*), and countless things of that sort?’<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, in dealing with the Manichaean doctrine of the Patibilis Jesus (*Contra Faustum*, 20. 11 end) Augustine brings in the Rex Honoris with the other two chief sons of the Living Spirit by asking Faustus:

‘Why should not Jesus be both your Splenditenens, and Atlas, and the King of Honor, and the Powerful Spirit, and the First Man, and whatever else you proclaim, without number, with their various names and various functions?’<sup>21</sup>

Additional Christian sources also refer to the two chief figures that hold the heavens from above and support the masses of earth from below.

For example, earlier than Augustine and Theodore bar Khoni, the celebrated theologian and saint of the church,

<sup>18</sup> We know that the purified Elements of Light were employed in making the heavens; the Elements that were polluted by Darkness entered, together with the bodies of the devouring Archons, into the construction of the earths and (very largely, also) into the composition of man.

<sup>19</sup> Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 20. 9 (Migne, 42. 375 top). Cf. Flügel, p. 222; Baur, p. 80.

<sup>20</sup> Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 32. 19 (Migne, 42. 508).

<sup>21</sup> Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 20. 11 (cf. also § 12) in Migne, 42. 378.

Ephraim the Syrian (A.D. 306 ?—373), refers to both of these potent powers in Mānī's conception of the management of the Cosmos. Thus in his 'Prose Refutations' he mentions not only the Primal Man, as Father of the Luminous Elements, and the well-known Column of Glory, but also

'the [...] of Splendor and the Atlas, and the rest of the others that Mānī proclaimed and even worship<sup>3</sup> and prays to.' <sup>22</sup>

Still earlier Christian allusions to Omophoros (Atlas) are found in the *Acta Archelai* of Hegemonius (early fourth century A.D.). These references, it may be observed, all occur in the account which the *Acta* gives of the Manichaean Turbo's summary of his Master's teachings. Thus, after describing the Primal Battle and the subsequent creation of the heavenly orbs and the eight earths by the Living Spirit, Turbo goes on to say (8. 2):

'Omophoros (*Ὠμοφόρος*) supports (the earth) below; and when he is wearied by supporting the burden he trembles and becomes the cause of an earthquake, apart from the determined time.' <sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ephraim, *Prose Refutations*, tr. Mitchell-Bevan-Burkitt, 2. p. xcviij, l<sup>o</sup> [... ] *zīwā*, 'the [Holder, Possessor, or Lord?] of Splendor.' The bracketed word is practically illegible in the palimpsest manuscript (loc. cit. n. 1, and cf. p. cxxxv). Burkitt states that it looks to him more like Syr. *uḥdān* or *aḥīdh*. As to meanings, Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* 2 ed. p. 11, 12, Halle, 1926, gives *aḥīdh*, '(1) potens, (2) praefectus, (3) dominus'; and for *uḥdān*, 'imperium, potestas, (2) majestas, (3) possessio'; cf. also Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, I. 116, 120. If either of Burkitt's decipherments be right, the idea would correspond excellently to the last element in *Splendi-tenens*, Φεγγο-κάροχος.

<sup>23</sup> Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 8. 2 (ed. Beeson, p. 11). The last clause, *παρὰ τὸν ὀρισμένον καιρὸν*, probably refers to the appointed time at the end of the world when Omophoros throws off his burden and the universal cataclysm ensues. See also the passages that follow. For a different explanation see Cumont, p. 72 n. 4. Fuller

Again, after an incidental mention of 'Omophoros' (8. 4) in connection with the 'Son' (here the Celestial Jesus as representing his prototype, Primal Man), Turbo proceeds to explain at some length (8. 4-7; 9. 1-5) Mānī's views regarding the universe and man, all men having 'roots' (*ḥiḥas*) connected below with those above, concerning which he adds (9. 5):

'If the upper parts of the (world-)root (*ṭḥs ḥiḥs*) shake with the strain an earthquake occurs and follows along, Omophoros being involved in the commotion; this is the cause of Death.' <sup>24</sup>

In connection with the end of the world Turbo furthermore states:

'Omophoros then casts off the earth, and in this way the Great Fire is let loose and consumes the whole world.' <sup>25</sup>

Titus of Bostra (*Contra Manichaeos*, I. 17), writing early in the fifth century A.D., but without mentioning Omophoros by name, refers (in the Greek version of his own controversial work in Syriac) to the Manichaean myth concerning the 'Supporter's' office:

'He (Mānī), employing the Syriac language, indulges in mythology and writes how the earth is held supported.' <sup>26</sup>

details are reserved for the chapter on Eschatology in a later book, a preliminary sketch of which is given in my Presidential Address, *JAOS.* (1930), 50. 177-198. It may be remarked that the Latin version of the *Acta* here adds to 'Homoforus' the gloss, 'id est qui eam (terram) portat in humeris.'

<sup>24</sup> *Acta*, 9. 5 (Beeson, p. 15).

<sup>25</sup> *Acta*, 13. 1 (Beeson, p. 21); see also the passage in the *Fihrist*, quoted below, p. 306, n. 32.

<sup>26</sup> Titus of Bostra, *Contra Manichaeos*, I. 17, Gk. ed. Lagarde, Berlin, 1859, p. 10 l. 13-14; see also Beausobre, 2. 371 n. 4, and cf. Cumont, p. 69 n. 3.

## STUDY XI. FIVE SONS OF LIVING SPIRIT 305

Timotheus of Constantinople, the Greek presbyter who wrote in the sixth century against heresies, refers to the old legend of Omophoros and the occurrence of earthquakes, calling him 'Saklās.'<sup>27</sup>

'He (Mānī) says that the earth is supported by a certain Saklas (Σακλās), and whenever he relaxes the strain he transfers his burden to the other shoulder and an earthquake is produced in this way.'<sup>28</sup>

The Greek Formula of Abjuration, § 2 (9th century A.D.), includes among the list of Manichaean gods against whom anathemas are uttered,

'The Holder of Splendor (Φεγγακάτοχον) and the Shoulder-Bearer (Ὠμοφόρον) who supports the earth.'<sup>29</sup>

From Muhammadan sources we have the same contributory evidence as to the two most characteristic figures. An-Nadīm's *Fihrist* uses the term for 'angel' (which would answer to TPhl. *yazd*) in alluding to them as appointed by the King of Light to their task:

'He charged an Angel (*malak*) to carry the heavens and another to hold up the earths.'<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Cumont (p. 73-74) has shown that 'Saklas' here may be due to an old misreading of the Syriac name *Sab<sup>h</sup>lā*, *Sabbālā*, 'the Supporter' (see above, p. 236 top), and is not to be confused with Saklas, the putative father of Adam and Eve in Manichaeism.

<sup>28</sup> Timotheus Presbyter, Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 86, col. 21; see again Cumont, p. 72 n. 5; 73 n. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Gk. Formula, § 2 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 1. p. 1462; Kessler, *Mani*, p. 403).

<sup>30</sup> An-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 56 l. 15 (text), p. 89 (transl.) ll. 21-23 (complete edition of the *Fihrist*, 1. 330 mid.); cf. also Kessler, *Mani*, p. 391 bot. (transl.).

Furthermore the Fihrist mentions these two colossal fellow-workers as relinquishing their tasks at the end of the world and thus bringing about the universal cataclysm:

'Then the Angel who had to hold up the earths will raise himself, and the other Angel will leave off drawing <sup>31</sup> the heavens.' <sup>32</sup>

This latter item, whether drawn from the Fihrist or quoted from a common source, is practically repeated by Shahrastānī (1127 A.D.) in his Arabic work dealing with religious sects and philosophic systems, for he says:

'The Angel who draws the heavens lets go, and that which is uppermost falls to the lowermost' (i.e. in the general cataclysm at the end of the world).<sup>33</sup>

The Dēnkart, a Pahlavi book of Sasanian times, gives further proof as to Mānī's belief in the World-Supporter. The Zoroastrian controversialist associates this figure with a fiend in old tradition:

'Mānī falsely said to proclaim that the earth is a disk (resting) upon the support (lit. column) of the fiend Kūndag.'<sup>34</sup>

The Manichaean Documents themselves now furnish the direct evidence needed to combine with the testimony furnished by the outside sources. The five figures and their offices are clearly to be recognized in the Turfan Pahlavi and Chinese texts, to which may be added an allusion in Turkish. We may begin with the passages in the first-named language.

<sup>31</sup> More literally, 'attracting.'

<sup>32</sup> See Flügel, *op. cit.* p. 57 l. 17 f (text), p. 90 ll. 13-15 (transl.); cf. Kessler, p. 392 bot. (transl.).

<sup>33</sup> Shahrastānī, tr. Haarbrücker, I. 289 bot. Cf. also the similar statement by al-Murtaḍā cited in *JAOS.* (1930), 50. 195.

<sup>34</sup> Dēnkart, 3. 200, 8. See Jackson, *JRAS.* 1924, p. 217, 224 (reprinted above, Study VII § 8).



The Turfan Pahlavi Fragments, instead of employing descriptive attributes to designate these five impressive figures, generally adopt appellations derived from the four titles applied in the Avesta to the administrative heads of the social order of the Zoroastrian state, adding a fifth (*Pāhragbēd*, 'Lord of Protection, or of the Guardianship') to complete the description of the full pentad which is so common in Manichaeism.<sup>35</sup> Thus in the Middle Persian texts, which are quoted below, these designations are (1) *Mānbēd*, 'Lord of the House,' (2) *Vīsēd*, 'Lord of the Village,' (3) *Zandbēd*, 'Lord of the Town,' (4) *Daḥībēd*, 'Lord of the Country,' (5) *Pāhragbēd*, 'Lord of the Guardianship.'

It will be observed that in this authentic Manichaean list, which is twice repeated in these Turfan Pahlavi Fragments, supplemented by a couple of other significant allusions in that same group of texts, the arrangement of the five 'lords' begins with the lowest and leads upward to the highest. In Augustine and Theodore bar Khoni, as we have already seen, it starts from the highest and goes down. But in either case the parallelism between these majestic forms is easily recognized and can be readily tabulated, as below. For such purpose, however, it is necessary (as explained later) to transpose 'Adamas' in the Christian sources to the second place and give the 'Gloriosus Rex' the third position, as here indicated. This transposition is warrantable on the basis of the additional Turfan Pahlavi allusions quoted below, and such inversions of the original Manichaean order are found elsewhere (see especially in the case of the Evil Elements). Accordingly the appended scheme, with its rearranged order in the right-hand column,

<sup>35</sup> The original Avestan terms in the fourfold order of the Zoroastrian state were, respectively, *nmānō-paiti*, *vis-paiti*, *zantu-paiti*, *daīku-paiti*. See Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 681. To these four Māni (coining on the basis of a presumable older Iranian \**pāθra-paiti*) added TPhl. *Pāhrag-bēd*.

may prove helpful for understanding the passages that follow.

## Turfan Pahlavi Texts

## Christian Sources

(Order here given is that which is found in these Manichaean documents)

(There given in reverse order; observe the transposing of Adamas noted above)

*Mānbēd*, 'Lord of the House'

'Atlas, Supporter

*Vīsbēd*, 'Lord of the Village'

Adamas

*Zandbēd*, 'Lord of the Town'

King of Glory

*Daḥībēd*, 'Lord of the Country'

King of Honor

*Pāhragbēd*, 'Lord of Guardianship'

Splenditenens

The first TPhl. passage to be cited in this connection is the list found in M. 472a, an eschatological Fragment preserved from Mānī's noted work *Shābūhragān*.

'The God(s) who are in the several Heavens and Earths <sup>36</sup>—(namely) the *Mānbēd*, *Visbēd*, *Zandbēd*, *Daḥībēd*, *Pāhragbēd*—and are powerful (?) <sup>37</sup> and hold the Realm in order.' <sup>38</sup>

The second quotation as to the list in question is from M. 473 c (b) <sup>39</sup> and is identical in its arrangement of the five, but it adds a touch showing that these will be also in

<sup>36</sup> Lit. 'in heaven heaven and earth earth' (respectively).

<sup>37</sup> The lacuna in *n y* // is perhaps to be supplied as *nē[rōgāvēnd]*, 'powerful,' an attribute of the gods found in TPhl. *nērōgāvēnd yazd*, 'powerful god' (Müller, 2. p. 78 bot.) and *nērōgāvēnd baī*, 'powerful divinity' (Mü. 2. p. 59 top). This adjectival derivative is from the TPhl. noun *nērōg*, 'manliness, virile power' (cf. BkPhl. *nērōg*, Pāzand *nīrō*, NP. *nīrō*), and is traceable through Av. *nairyā*, Skt. *narya*, 'possessed of manly power,' back to Av. \**nairyāva*, 'manliness,' as discussed above, in Study IV (with references), in connection with TPhl. *nērōg*, 'power,' in Fragment S. 7 d 16.

<sup>38</sup> M. 472 a, lines 11-15 (= Mü. 2. p. 18 mid.).

<sup>39</sup> For the corrected order *c* instead of *b* see Müller, 2. 108 mid.

a position to issue commands to the Demons at the end of the world. The passage refers to the five as:

'The Gods (*yazdān*) who are in the whole region of the Heavens and Earths—(namely) the Mānbēd, Visbēd, Zandbēd, and Daḥībēd, Pāhragbēd—and are the Demons' revilers (or commanders),<sup>40</sup> will bestow their blessing upon that Realm (Aeon) of Wisdom (Jesus).'<sup>41</sup>

The Fragment first cited (M. 472a), though broken at the bottom, gives on the reverse side at the top of the page, in its upper half, some details concerning the functions of three of these mighty agents. The details make certain the identity of the three with those parallel in the non-Manichaean sources. For example, the Atlas-like 'Mānbēd God' is represented as standing on the lowest of the eight earths and keeping the earths in order. In near company with him is the 'Wind-raising God' (called *Vād-aḥrām Yazd* here and twice elsewhere, and identical with the Zandbēd) who leads upward the wind, water, and fire, just as does the *Gloriosus Rex*.<sup>42</sup> The 'Visbēd God,' standing on the surface of our earth and holding down a great Dragon, is clearly the belligerent hero Adamas.<sup>43</sup> This passage, with its descriptive attributes, is therefore worth translating from the Turfan Pahlavi as follows:

<sup>40</sup> TPhl. *k(h=x)rōstār*, lit. 'shouter(s) at,' i.e. those who give orders to the Demons with a shout, or revile. See my note in *JAOS*. (1930), 50. 190 n. 21, for the etymology and general connotation of this word.

<sup>41</sup> M. 473 c (for b) lines 5-10 (= Mü. 2. p. 24 top), cf. also Müller, p. 108). Compare likewise my translation of this passage with notes, in *JAOS*. (1930), 50. 189-190; furthermore, consult the remarks, *op. cit.* p. 183-185, concerning the term 'Realm (Aeon) of Wisdom' as denoting Jesus.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. above, note 12, and see Study VIII, n. 69, 70.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. above, note 16; also Theodore bar Khoni in Study VIII, n. 25 (3); see likewise below (Chinese), p. 312.

'That Mānbēd God (*Mānbēd Yazd* = 1. Atlas) who stands upon the lowest earth and holds the earths in order; and that Wind-raising God (*Vād-aḥrām Yazd* = 3. Zandbēd, Gloriosus Rex) who is with him—who raises upward the Wind, Water, and Fire; and that Viśbēd God (*Viśbēd Yazd* = 2. Adamas) who stands upon this earth and holds the massive Dragon (*Azdaḥāg*) inside a mountain (?),<sup>44</sup> overcome <sup>45</sup> (?) and led down.'<sup>46</sup>

While the dragon-quelling Viśbēd (Adamas) happens not to be described further than this in the TPhl. texts thus far available, these Middle Persian fragmentary pieces do contain some additional allusions to the Mānbēd and to the 'Wind-Raising God,' Vād-aḥrām (= Zandbēd, Gloriosus Rex).

Thus the office of the Mānbēd is twice referred to in the Cosmological Fragment (M. 98-99), translated above (Study II). In the former portion (M. 98) of that piece it is recorded that after the Living Spirit had made use of the four Deposits in the abyss as a foundation upon which to construct the fifth earth,

'He (the Living Spirit) made the Mānbēd the commanding god over it' (i.e. over Earth V).<sup>47</sup>

In the succeeding portion (M. 99) of the same piece, after the sixth earth has been created, we are further informed regarding the role of the Mānbēd as follows:

'(The Living Spirit) set the lowest heaven upon the head and in the hand (of him) whose (task? is) to keep in order the heaven round about him. . . .

<sup>44</sup> Text, *r (?)br(?)g*, and meaning are uncertain.

<sup>45</sup> Text is damaged.

<sup>46</sup> Fragment M. 472 verso, lines 1-9 (= Mū. 2. p. 18-19).

<sup>47</sup> Frag. M. 98 b, 19-20 (= Mū. 2. p. 40 bot.). Consult the translation and note above, in Study II, n. 48.

And (the Living Spirit) placed this great earth (i.e. Earth VI)—on its columns and arches and the two walls—upon the shoulders (?) of [that] Mānbēd God, he who keeps it in order eastward, southward and westward above the outermost wall, and northward towards the Light Earth.’<sup>48</sup>

Observe furthermore, and especially, that in a short TPhl. Fragment (M. 482) preserved from Mānī’s previously quoted Shābūhragān we again have the Mānbēd referred to in close association with the ‘Wind-raising God’ (*Vādāhrām Yazd*) who, as already seen, is in charge of the Wheels of the wind, water, and fire, which shall finally go to destruction at the end of the world. The special excerpt from this Fragment reads as follows:

‘The ///// (= wheel(s)?)<sup>49</sup> of the Wind, Water, and Fire shall disappear<sup>50</sup> from that (?) lowest earth upon which that Mānbēd and the Wind-raising God (*Vādāhrām Yazd*) stand.’<sup>51</sup>

A Turkish Fragment (TM. 147), when mentioning a number of gods, evidently refers to our well-known Wind-raising God and his Wheels, since it makes the following allusion to

<sup>48</sup> M. 99 c, 17–25, d, 1–4 (= Mü. 2. p. 42). See the translation and discussion above, in Study II, notes 64–74, 77, 78 end.

<sup>49</sup> For references in other sources to the ‘wheels’ (the word is here only conjectural), see note above on the Cosmological Fragment, M. 99 d, 8–9, in Study II, n. 85. To fill the lacuna /////, I proposed (in *JAOS.* (1930), 50. 194) supplying simply *gahī*, ‘[Then the W]ind, Fire, etc.’ Other conjectures, such as [*zōr* ‘i v]ād, ‘the force of the Wind, etc.’ (espec. because the verb *abēsīhād* is in the singular number), can be made.

<sup>50</sup> For the meaning of *abēsīhād*, ‘shall go to ruin, vanish,’ consult Bartholomae, *Zum Airwb.* p. 71, 154, and idem, *Mitteliran. Mundarten*, I. 33–34.

<sup>51</sup> M. 482 verso, 9–12 (= Mü. 2. p. 17 top).

'The God of the three Wheels, (namely) the Wind, Water, and Fire.' <sup>52</sup>

The Chinese Treatise alludes to these Five under descriptive titles that enable us easily to identify each, though the order of the last two is inverted from that given in Theodore bar Khoni and St. Augustine, as pointed out by Chavannes and Pelliot.<sup>53</sup> The Treatise employs the five as standards in the macrocosm with which the five spiritual elements in regenerate man may symbolically be compared. Thus:

'They (i.e. the spiritual elements or virtues in man) are the signs which recall the Holy Ones of the macrocosm (i.e. the Sons of the Living Spirit): (1) Pity symbolizes the Envoy of Light who Maintains the World (= Splenditenens, etc.); (2) Good Faith symbolizes the Great King of the Ten Heavens (= Rex Honoris, etc.); (3) Contentment (or Complacency) <sup>53a</sup> symbolizes the Victorious Envoy who subdues the demons (= Adamas); (4, transposed with 5) Patience symbolizes the Envoy of Light who is in the bowels of the Earth (= Atlas, etc.); (5, transposed with 4) Wisdom symbolizes the Envoy who accelerates the brightness (= Gloriosus Rex, etc.).' <sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> TM. 147 b verso, 7-8 (= Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. p. 6). The old Turkish words *üç tilgân yil suv oot tngriih*, I think, should be interpreted in the manner given above. For the space-filling *h* at the end of the line in *tngriih*, as sometimes elsewhere, see Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 280 middle.

<sup>53</sup> See *JA.* 1911, p. 549-550, and notes. Compare also the remarks above, p. 307.

<sup>53a</sup> Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung*, p. 15, render this term by 'Vollkommenheit (in den Geboten).'

<sup>54</sup> Chinese Treatise, tr. Chavannes and Pelliot in *JA.* 1911, p. 549-550. Consult the notes there which give the Chinese designations

## STUDY XI. FIVE SONS OF LIVING SPIRIT 313

Conclusion. Thus, the fact that the Five Sons of the Living Spirit formed a fundamental doctrine in Mānī's teachings is not only indicated by the outside sources but is also assured by the veritable Manichæan documents themselves which the recent discoveries in Central Asia have brought to light.

for the Five in the order there recorded as follows: "(1) *ich'e-che ming-che*—(2) *che-t'ien ta-wang*—(3) *kiang-mo cheng che*—(4 = 5) *ti-tsang ming-che*—(5 = 4) *ts'ouei-kouang ming-che*."

## STUDY XII

### ALLUSIONS TO THE TEN HEAVENS AND EIGHT EARTHS AND THE LEGENDS ABOUT THEIR FORMATION

Saint Augustine is fond of deriding many of Mānī's teachings as fables, legends, and the vain imaginings of a wanton mind.<sup>1</sup> Among these 'fictions' (however much older than Mānī's time some of them may have been) is the Manichaeian belief that there were ten heavens and eight earths. 'How do you know,' the Church Father scornfully asks Faustus, 'that there are eight earths and ten heavens (*octo esse terras et decem coelos*), and that Atlas bears up the world, and that it hangs from the Holder of Splendor, and innumerable things of the same kind? Who is your authority? Manichaeus, of course, you will say.'<sup>2</sup>

The fact that Mānī taught there were ten heavens and eight earths has long been assured by such testimony from non-Manichaeian writers, but it is now proved by the actual Manichaeian documents discovered in Central Asia.

Taking first, however, the well-known allusions in the indirect sources, besides the standard passage quoted above from Augustine, we may cite the still earlier authority of Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 8. 1, who says in his account of the Manichaeian creation that the Living Spirit, after creating the luminaries of heaven, 'created the earth in its

<sup>1</sup> For example, cf. Augustine, *Epist. Fund.* ch. 19. 21; *Contra Faust.* 13. 6; 15. 5; 32. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 32. 19 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* vol. 42, col. 508). Cf. also Beausobre, *Histoire de Manichée, et du Manichéisme*, 2. 366, Amsterdam, 1734.



eight forms.' <sup>3</sup> The Syriac scholiast Theodore bar Khoni (translated above, Study VIII), in his familiar story of the Archons and the use to which their skins and bodies were put, says: 'The Mother of Life spread out the heaven with their skins and made eleven (read *ten*) <sup>4</sup> heavens; and they (i.e. three of the sons of the Living Spirit) <sup>5</sup> threw the bodies of these to the Earth of Darkness and they <sup>6</sup> made eight earths.' The Arabic writer an-Nadīm, in his *Fihrist*, likewise mentions the creation of 'ten heavens and eight earths' (see Flügel, *Mani*, (text) p. 55 line 14, (transl.) p. 89 with n. 125).

Turning now to the direct evidence furnished by the Manichaean documents themselves for the correctness of these respective numbers, we may mention first a couple of allusions in the Iranian texts from Turfan. Thus the Middle Persian (or Turfan Pahlavi) Fragment 33. 11 (see Müller, 2. p. 46 bot.) speaks of the 'ten heavens' (*das asmānān*); similarly a 'Dialect,' or Soghdian Fragment (Müller, 2. p. 97), when describing the celestial realms, makes mention twice of 'ten heavens' (*lasā* or *dasā samānīh* and again *10 samānīty*). The fact that the eightfold division of the earth is recognized in the TPhl. Cosmological Fragment (M. 98, 99), translated above with notes in Study II, has been sufficiently indicated. See especially p. 25, 72, 73.

The Turkish Manichaean Texts furnish more numerous allusions. For example, the Turkish Confession Prayer, section 3 B, refers to 'the tenfold blue (heaven) above and the eightfold earth below.' (See Le Coq, *JRAS.* 1911, p. 284, 285, lines 42-43; Bang, *Muséon*, 36.

<sup>3</sup> Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 8. 1 (ed. Beeson, p. 11): ἐκτίσε γῆν ἐς ὀκτὼ (Lat. version, *creavit terram; et sunt octo*).

<sup>4</sup> See note above, Study VIII n. 48.

<sup>5</sup> For this interpretation see above, Study VIII n. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Regarding the plur. form 'they' of the verb, consult Study VIII n. 53, and n. 49, above.

p. 148, 149).<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, in connection with cosmology, a Turkish Fragment from Khocho (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 1. p. 14, lines 4–8) tells how the Mother Goddess and the Living Spirit (Wadzhiwanta), when ready to take in hand the earthly and sky creations, ‘made and created first of all the ten fold blue heaven (*on qat kök tängrig*) according to a single plan’; and directly afterwards (lines 13–15) the text alludes again to the ‘ten fold blue heaven’ (cf. also Bang, *Muséon*, 36, p. 242 n. 4, with p. 184 n. 1). Similarly another Turkish piece (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. p. 8 bot.), when alluding to creation, mentions that ‘the God Wadzhiwanta (Living Spirit) tucked up his robe in the ten fold heaven.’<sup>8</sup>

The Chinese Manichaean Treatise (tr. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 514–516) refers, moreover, to the ‘ten heavens and eight earths’ which the Living Spirit and the Excellent Mother ‘established by an ingenious procedure’; and besides this the same Treatise (*JA.* 1911, p. 549) refers to the Rex Honoris as the ‘Great King of the ten heavens.’

We may furthermore mention that there are several other passages in the Turfan Pahlavi texts, besides the citations above (p. 315), which allude to the heavens and earths in the plural, but without a specific numeral being attached in either case (see footnote).<sup>9</sup>

Much might be added, if space allowed, concerning multiple heavens in speculative systems earlier than Mānī’s

<sup>7</sup> Turk. (*op. cit.*): *üzä on qat kök, asra säkiz qat yir.*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. above, Study X, p. 293, n. 69 and 70.

<sup>9</sup> For example, from the TPhl. texts (where the grammatical form of the plural is shown) may be cited from Müller, *Handschriften-reste* 2, such instances as (*op. cit.* p. 18 bot.) ‘he stands upon the lowest earth (*’ērdōm zamīg*) and keeps the earths (*zamīgān*, pl.) in order ; also (p. 24 top) ‘the Gods who are in the heavens (*[as]mānān*) and earths (*zamīgān*)’; likewise (p. 19 mid.) ‘every earth (i.e. all the earths) above the Four Deposits.’

time,<sup>10</sup> but let it suffice here to draw attention to the interesting observation made by Cumont that the Ophites and the disciples of Battaï recognized ten heavens according to the account given by Theodore bar Khoni (tr. Pognon, p. 213, 223).<sup>11</sup>

Having brought forward evidence enough concerning the accepted numbers of the heavens and earths in Manichaeism, we may proceed to show by further quotations (from the same or other sources) how the 'skins' of the slain Archons, or Princes of Darkness, were used in forming the various heavens, and their 'bodies' employed in the construction of the several earths.<sup>12</sup> The idea of a sky overspread with skins would naturally be as old as the pelt-tent of the Oriental nomad,<sup>13</sup> while Titan bodies have ever been fancied as forming the framework of earth. Legends like these appeal to the popular imagination as Mānī knew, and he adapted ideas drawn from them for his purposes.

We may begin by quoting the fourth century Greek authority Epiphanius (*Haeres.* 66. 32), who says of Mānī, 'he asserts the firmament to be skins (δέρματα) of the Archons.'<sup>14</sup> More detailed are the words of the Syriac writer St. Ephraim (d. 371) in his Prose Refutations of Mānī (tr. Mitchell, I. p. xxxiii): 'When Primal Man

<sup>10</sup> See Beausobre, *op. cit.* 2. 366; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 218-221, espec. p. 219 bot., with regard to concentric spheres; and cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 21-46, on the rôle played by the 'seven' planets. Mānī's fondness for pentads (here doubled) may have favored the number ten.

<sup>11</sup> See Cumont, p. 28 n. 2.

<sup>12</sup> It is important to distinguish the Archons who were killed and flayed from those who were kept as captives and bound to the heavens, regarding which latter there are other Manichaean legends as will be seen hereafter. So also Cumont, p. 27 n. 3.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Cumont, p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 66. 32 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 42. p. 81 A [648]); cf. also Beausobre, 2. 366 n. 2; Cumont, p. 26 n. 3.

hunted the Sons of Darkness, he<sup>15</sup> flayed them and made this sky from their skins, and out of their excrement he compacted the Earth, and some of their bones, too, he melted, and raised and piled up the mountains.' And once again from Ephraim (tr. *op. cit.* Mitchell-Bevan-Burkitt, vol. 2. p. CVIII), 'from their skins are the Heavens, and from their excrement the Earth, and from their bo[n]es the mountains.' Furthermore, St. Augustine, *Contra Faust.* 20. 9, speaks of 'the Powerful (= Living) Spirit ... forming the world from the captured bodies of the race of Darkness (*de captivis corporibus gentis tenebrarum*).' Similar in import is the Greek record of Joannes Damaskenos (early 8th cent.), *Contra Manich.* 29 (ed. Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. 94, col. 1553 B), end, where it is said, 'he made men (!τοὺς ἀνθρώπους) of their<sup>16</sup> bodies (ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ read αὐτῶν)<sup>16</sup> and the mountains of their<sup>16</sup> bones.' Cf. Cumont, p. 27 n. 2.

Important from the standpoint of Oriental allusions is a passage in the (9th cent.) anti-Manichaean Pahlavi book Shikand-Gūmānīg Vīzhār, 16. 8-14, which states: '(Mānī says) this, that the world is a bodily-formation of Ahriman altogether—bodily-formation (being itself) a creation of Ahriman; and a counterpart (of that statement) is this, that the sky is from the skin, the earth from the flesh, the mountains from the bones, and the plants from the hair of the demon Kunī (Kund); the rain is the seed of the Māzandarāns (i.e. Demons) who are bound on the firmament'; see translation and note on this passage above, Study VI n. 11; and compare especially

<sup>15</sup> So the verb form in the Syriac text, but more precise would be a reference to the three of the five sons of the Living Spirit as shown above (Study VIII, n. 45) in connection with the associated passage in Theodore bar Khoni.

<sup>16</sup> The text has αὐτοῦ, 'his,' in both instances, but αὐτῶν, 'their,' is undoubtedly to be read as the reference is to ἀρχοντας (plur.), just preceding, as observed long ago by Beausobre, 2. 366 n. 3.

Dēnkart, 3. 200. 8, in Study VII n. 4, according to which Mānī regarded the earth as 'a circle on the support of the fiend Kūndag.' In this same connection may be added from the Greek Formula of Abjuration (cf. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 361, 401; Migne, *PG.* 1. p. 1464 B) the article in which the convert from Manichaeism repudiates such fables regarding creation as 'the skins, sinews, bodies, and sweat of the wicked Archontes.' A parallel to the general idea is furnished in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise (*JA.* 1911, p. 525-527) which relates how the human body as the microcosm was formed in imitation of the macrocosm of the world.<sup>17</sup>

The arch-demon Kunī, Kund, or Kūndag, above mentioned, is thought by Cumont (p. 27 n. 2 end) to have been the only one put to death according to the Shikand-Gūmānīg Vizhār, the others having been fastened to the firmament; but the 'skins' of the Archons used in making the heavens imply a larger number slain (cf. especially Ephraim, tr. Mitchell, 1. p. xxxv, and other sources). This monstrous fiend, however, appears to have been the chief one so disposed of, and I believe that he is alluded to likewise in the Turfan Manichaean texts.

For instance, he is probably identical with the Titan figure, 'that [—]i demon,'<sup>18</sup> in a Turkish Fragment

<sup>17</sup> Incidentally (because being Zoroastrian) may be noted that Cumont, p. 26 n. 5, draws attention to a passage in the large Iranian Bundahishn (ed. T. D. Anklesaria, p. 189, Bombay, 1908, translated by Blochet, *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, Paris, 1895, p. 242) in which the human body is likened to the macrocosm, 'the skin is like the heaven, the flesh like the earth, the bones are like the mountains, the veins like the rivers, the blood in the body is like the water of the sea,' etc. Consult furthermore *Zeitschr. f. Indologie*, 2. 60-61, etc., in which this passage is discussed at length by Albrecht Götze.

<sup>18</sup> The Turkish text (broken) has ///i before the words *yäkk başın*, 'demon's head.' Le Coq feels scruples in suggesting to fill the lacuna as [o]l [qar?]i *yäkk başın*, 'jenes alten (?) Dämonen Haupt.' But instead of [qar?]i, would it not be possible to propose [kūnd]i, and refer it to the demon Kundī?

(T. II, D, 121, Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. p. 8) which describes him as lying with his head pressed down by mountains and sand in the east, his nether parts pressed by the land in the west, his shoulders by those in the north and south, while his middle is held down by Mt. Sumeru, and his limbs by its eight mountains. Moreover we are entitled to see an allusion to this same gigantic monster in the Turfan Pahlavi Fragment M. 472, v. 8 (= Müller, 2. p. 19 top) which refers to 'the mighty Azdahāg' (Dragon) whom the Visbēd God (i.e. the belligerent hero Adamas), standing on earth, holds down 'inside a mountain (?)'.<sup>19</sup>

But to add more about giant carcasses would be piling Ossa on Pelion! Mānī was more interested in the ethereal regions of the ten heavens than in the eightfold dark and mixed earths which his fertile imagination had excogitated.

December, 1930.

<sup>19</sup> The reading of the word *r?br?g* (here conjecturally translated as 'mountain (?)') is uncertain. Possibly it may somehow be associated with an also broken word (*/rg*), which occurs in connection with hell and torments in a Petrograd Fragment (S. 28 a, ed. Salemann, *Manichaica*, 3. p. 22). Legends about mountains (especially of volcanic origin) as burdening down giants are familiar everywhere. The Pahlavi book *Bundahishn*, 29. 8-9 and 12. 31, tells of 'Azh-i Dahāk' as confined in Mount Damāvand (see West, *SBE.* 5. p. 119 and 40).

SHORT CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR KNOWLEDGE  
OF MANICHAËISM \*

## I. Rāmratūkh as a Designation of the Mother of Life.

In Manichaeism we are familiar with the figure of the great mother-goddess, the Mother of Life (or, more exactly, Mother of the Living), who is found likewise in the earlier Gnostic systems.<sup>1</sup> The triune relationship of a Father God, Mother Goddess, and Son is recognizable, and is familiar elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> In the Greek and Latin writings dealing with the Religion of Mānī and in the Gnostics the mother is spoken of as ἡ Μητέρα τῆς Ζωῆς, *Mater Vitae* (or as ἡ Μητέρα τῶν Ζώντων, *Mater Viventium*).<sup>3</sup> In the Syriac scholia by Theodore bar Khoni, when treating of Manichaeism, she is also alluded to several times as the 'Mother of Life' (or 'Mother of the Living'), 'Emmā d' Ḥayyē';<sup>4</sup> and in the Arabic chapter on Mānī's teaching in

\* [Reprinted, with several additions and a few slight changes, from my article in *JAOS.* (March, 1924), 44. 61-72. With appreciative acknowledgment.—A. V. W. J.]

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the latter point consult Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 1-83; idem, art. 'Gnosticism,' in *Encycl. Brit.* 12. 155-156 [11th ed.]; and also art. 'Great Mother of the Gods,' by G. Showerman, *Encycl. Brit.* 12. 401-403.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, 1. 15, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 7. 3 (ed. Beeson, p. 10); Epiphanius, *De Haeresibus*, 26, ch. 10, in Migne, *Patrolog. Graec.* vol. 41, col. 348; Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses*, 1. 30. 2 (ref. to *Mater Viventium* in connection with the Ophites), in Migne, *Patrolog. Graec.* vol. 7, col. 695; consult Beausobre, *Histoire de Manichée*, 2. 313, n. 7; Cumont, *Recherches*, 1. 14-15; Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2. 293, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See Pognon, *Inscriptions Mandaites*, p. 127, 128, 129 (text), p. 185,

an-Nadīm's Fihrist she is called both the 'Mother of Life' (*Umm-al-Ḥayāh*) and 'Mother of the Living' (*Umm-al-Aḥyā*).<sup>5</sup>

When the remains of actual Manichaean documents were discovered a score or more years ago in the Oasis of Turfan, Eastern Turkistan, it was interesting to find among these Fragments in several languages allusions to this divine mother. Thus, in the Fragments which are written in the Middle Persian form that is = orig. p. 62, commonly known as Turfan Pahlavi, her name appears as *Mādar 'ī Zīndagān* or *Zīndagān Mādar*, lit. 'Mother of the Living.'<sup>6</sup> Similarly, in the old Turkish Manichaean Fragments from Khocho she is termed the 'Mother Goddess,' *Ög T(ä)ngri*.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise found in the Grottoes of Tun-Huang, she is called the 'Excellent Mother,' *Shan-mu* (or *Chan-mou*, according to the French transliteration).<sup>8</sup>

188, 189 (transl.); cf. Cumont, p. 14, 25, 33. [See also the translation above from Theodore bar Khoni, Study VIII, n. 9.]

<sup>5</sup> See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 59, line 1 and p. 70, line 8 (text), cf. p. 91, 100 (transl.).

<sup>6</sup> See F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-reste in Estrangelo-schrift aus Turfan, Zweiter Teil* (Abh. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Berlin, 1904) for the following references. Fragments, M. 309, line 3 (= Müller, 2. p. 47) *Mādar 'ī Zīndagān*; M. 4 d, line 8 (= Mü. 2. p. 55) *Zīndagān Mādar*; likewise M. 17 c = M. 172, 1. 13 recto (= Mü. 2. p. 25 = p. 101, 102) simply *Mādar* [*'ī Zīndagan*].

<sup>7</sup> See A. von Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, I, III (AKPAk. Berlin, 1912, 1922) for the following references: Frag. T. II, D. 173 b. recto line 17, and verso 1. 1 (= Le Coq, 1. p. 13, 14) *Ög T(ä)ngri*; also T. M. 291 recto(?) line 11 (= Le Coq, 3. p. 7) *Ög T(ä)ngri*. Refer also to the discussion below (Section 2, Addendum) regarding *Ögütmiš Ög* in T. II, D. 176 recto line 14 (= Le Coq, 3. p. 15). [Professor W. Bang Kaup, of Berlin, wrote to me (Nov. 27, 1927): 'unsere Findung *ögütmiš ög* = mère excellente so sicher ist wie nur etwas sein kann.' This sentence refers to our having reached the same conclusion regarding this designation at about the same time. Cf. his article on 'Manichäische Hymnen,' in *Muséon* (1925), 38. 17.]

<sup>8</sup> See Chavannes and Pelliot, *Un Traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*,



[= orig. p. 63] Now in one of the Turfan Middle Persian Fragments (M. 172 recto l. 13-18 = Mü. p. 101 top), which is written both in Turfan Pahlavi and in a 'dialect' (Soghdian) gloss that accompanies the former, we have a special name added in the 'dialect' (Soghdian) gloss as a further designation of the Mother Goddess; it is *r' m r' t v x* (= Mü. *Rāmrātūkh*).<sup>9</sup> The content of the passage itself may briefly be summarized thus: it gives an

in *Journal Asiatique*, 1911, p. 511, with note 1, and p. 515, 525, 532, n. 2. Being interested in understanding the force and meaning of the first word (*Shan*) I asked for information from my kind Sinologist friends. Professor Pelliot personally told me that there is no doubt that *shan* ('*chan*') is an attribute of the Mother, and he translates by 'la Mère excellente.' I furthermore had the advantage of conferring with my Chinese pupil, Mr. Ti-Shan Hsü, regarding the pregnant signification of this adjective. Mr. Hsü informed me that the meaning of *shan* was 'auspicious,' and he added that in the first Chinese dictionary (Shoh-wen), written early in the Han Dynasty, the word is given with the explanation 'auspicious' (see Shoh-wen Ch'ai Tze, vol. 2, p. 13 b, Shanghai, 1923, Chung Hwa Book Company). He furthermore told me that in the *Great Dictionary of the Chinese Public*, Shanghai, 1915, under the division "k'ou" ('mouth') there are numerous meanings recorded as appearing in the Classics. The commonest ones (listed with their sources) are the following: '(1) Happy, (2) Excellent, (3) Good, (4) Virtuous, (5) Peaceful, (6) Merciful, (7) Great, (9) Pleasing, (14) Friendly.' Prof. Thomas F. Carter, my colleague and former student [since deceased], similarly said that the idea conveyed by the adjective is approximately: 'good, kind, loving, righteous,' like the Greek *ἀγαθός* in its various shadings of meaning. Professor Lucius C. Porter (visiting professor in Chinese at Columbia University in 1923-1924) likewise drew my attention to the idea of 'good' (as opposed to evil) as a fundamental definition of *shan* in one of the native dictionaries, the association of the ideas of 'auspicious' and 'good' being a natural one. He also referred me to Williams, *Chinese English Dictionary*, p. 752, where, among the primary significations, are set down 'good from principle, virtuous, meek, docile, skilful.' This information at least helps to make non-Sinologists acquainted with the gamut run by the word under consideration.

<sup>9</sup> See Müller, *op. cit.* p. 101, 102.

ascription of praise to several of the divine beings, adding their titles in the gloss. Among those mentioned in succession are the 'Father' (whose name is dialectically glossed as 'God Zarvān,' *Zarvāβaγīy*), the 'Mother Goddess' (glossed as *Rām-rāṭūkh βaγīy*), and the 'Son' (originally Primal Man, who is glossed as Jesus, *Yēšuvīy*).<sup>10</sup> The precise meaning of the name *Rām-rāṭūkh* (the appended word *βaγīy* being 'Goddess'), as applied to the Mother of Life in this gloss, has long been a problem. A provisional suggestion is here put forward, which may possibly help towards the solution of the crux.

The Middle Persian word *Rām-rāṭūkh* is to be divided, I believe, as *Rām-rāṭūkh* (*Rām-rāṭūx*). The first element is manifestly the familiar Pahlavi *rām*, NP. *rām*, 'joy, gladness, happiness,' which is well known in derivatives, like Phl. *rāmišn*, and found equally in Avestan as *rāman-*, 'rest, joy,' from the root *ram-*, 'to rest, repose.'<sup>11</sup> The second element (*rāṭūkh*) appears to be a Soghdian abstract, formed from the noun and adjective Phl. *rāt* (*rād*), 'giver, liberal, generous,' which abstract itself appears in ordinary Pahlavi as *rātīh* (*rādīh*), 'generosity, liberality, bounteousness, benevolence.'<sup>12</sup> The formative ending *-ūkh* is

<sup>10</sup> The role of the celestial Jesus as a fulfilment of that of Primal Man is recognized elsewhere in Manichaeism. It is implied, for example, in Theodore bar Khonī, tr. Pognon, p. 191-193; also in an-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, tr. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 91; and consult especially Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*, p. 154; idem, *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, p. 90. [Consult later the valuable monograph by Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1926, Number 4.]

<sup>11</sup> Consult Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1511, 1524.

<sup>12</sup> See West and Haug, *Glossary of the Arda Viraf*, p. 130; and cf. S. D. Bharucha, *Pahlavi-Pāzend-English Glossary*, p. 258, Bombay, 1912. [In an appreciative acknowledgment of a reprint of this paper, which I sent him somewhat later, Professor H. H. Schaeder, of Königsberg Pr., wrote me (September 14, 1928): "Der mittelpersische name der 'mutter des lebens' ist meines erachtens einfach aufzulösen in *rām-*

doubtless a Soghdian variation of the ordinary *-ih*, which is common enough as an abstract termination in the Pahlavi Books, and is = orig. p. 64 there sometimes written as a graph (*~*). The meaning of this compounded name Rāmṛāṭūkh would therefore be literally 'Joygivingness,' 'Liberality of Joy,' and *Rāmṛāṭūkh* βαγῑ would be the 'Goddess of the Bounteousness of Joy'—a title well suited to the Mother of Life, whose true office is to dispense happiness. [Consult now Schaeder's letter as quoted above, at the end of n. 12.]

Additional support for the proposed etymology of this epithet Rāmṛāṭūkh, applied to the Mother as the one who imparts joy, is afforded by two passages in the Fihrist, to which I would call attention in this connection.

The first of these is found in the section of the Fihrist edited by Flügel, *Mani*, p. 55, l. 3, in which she is personified under the name of 'Joyousness' (Arabic *Bahjah*, *Bahja*), which he renders as 'Fröhlichkeit' (*op. cit.* p. 88, l. 10).<sup>13</sup>

*rātūx* 'freuden-herrin'; *rātūx* ist ein mittelpersisches femininum zu *rat*, aw. *ratav-*, so wie *bānūk*, neupers. *bānū*, zu *bān*, aw. *-pāna*. Und der bezeichnung der gestalt im Fihrist ist inhaltlich damit identisch: die haben Sie für die stellen Flügel 545, 553 ja selber festgestellt, es gilt aber auch für die dritte stelle, 706-8. Denn aus den varianten, die Sie in Ihrem aufsatz 67 angegeben, folgt einmal, dass der text verdorben ist, anderseits lassen sich diese varianten leicht als entstellungen aus *b h j t*, *bahja*, begreifen." Schaeder refers further to the outstanding need of a new critical edition of the Fihrist, a desideratum which I see (1930) is happily now in view of being fulfilled by Dr. J. Fück, cf. *ZDMG.* (1930), 84. 111 n. 1.—Especially observe, furthermore, that (1926) Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 127 top, translate these Soghdian lines of our passage (M. 172 recto, 17-18) *par māāt* 00 *rāmṛāṭūx* βαγῑ *āfrīwan*, by 'durch den Segen der Mutter, der guten Glücksgöttin des Friedensgottes,' and they add in their footnote (after Andreas), as a transliteration, *rōm rōd voχ* βογῑ.]

<sup>13</sup> Regarding this well-known word *bahjah*, consult Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, I. p. 64, and cf. also Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 210, s. v. *bahjah* (Arabic), 'gladness, cheerfulness, joyfulness.' No departure from the text of our passage is made in the large edition of the Fihrist by Flügel-Roediger-Müller, p. 329, l. 29; Leipzig, 1871.

Although Flügel was doubtful in his notes (p. 208 n. 110) as to what identification to suggest for 'Fröhlichkeit,' he had an inkling that the name might possibly be used to designate the 'Mutter des Lebens.' The times have since given proof that this surmise was correct. The context of the passage itself showed that the personage personified as 'Joyousness' was directly associated with the Living Spirit in rescuing Primal Man after he had been overcome by the Powers of Darkness. [See above, Study IX n. 8.] We now know from the Syriac Scholia of Theodore bar Khoni and from the Manichaean documents later available in the older Turkish and Chinese, that it actually was the Mother Goddess who was thus united with the Living Spirit in Primal Man's deliverance.<sup>14</sup> Consequently there can remain no doubt that 'Joyousness' ('Fröhlichkeit') in this particular passage of the Fihrist is, like Rāmṛāṭūkh, a designation for the joyous Mother of Life.

The second passage in the same Arabic work is one for which a new interpretation can be offered in the light already thrown upon the subject. This passage (Flügel, *Mani*, text p. 54, l. 5, transl. p. 87, l. 19) relates to an earlier stage in the conflict between = orig. p. 65 Light and Darkness, namely, that moment when the King of Light, as God, evolves a plan for bringing Primal Man into being. This he does, in cooperation with other spiritual aids, by evoking or creating Primal Man through the agency of a power that is ordinarily translated as the 'Geist seiner Rechten'—so Flügel, reading the Arabic adjective as *yamnah*.<sup>15</sup> But instead of so reading the Arabic word I

<sup>14</sup> See Theodore bar Khoni, tr. Pognon, p. 188; Turkish Frag. T. II, D. 173 b, recto ll. 16-20, verso ll. 1-4 (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* I, p. 13-14, cf. p. 40-41); furthermore, the Chinese Treatise tr. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 510-514. Cf. also Alfarc, *Les Écritures manichéennes*, 2. 215, n. 2.

<sup>15</sup> See Flügel, p. 87 and p. 199, n. 1; he is followed by Kessler, *Mani*, p. 389, and by scholars in general.

should prefer to point it as *yumnah*, 'happiness, felicity';<sup>16</sup> and should accordingly suggest that the sentence means: 'He (i.e. the Godhead) begat by His Spirit of Happiness.' This would be simply another way of expressing the attribute 'Joyousness,' as applied above to the Mother of the Living, whom scholars believe to be intended here.<sup>17</sup> The idea for such an interpretation I owed to my former pupil (in 1922) Mr. Anis E. Khuri, now Professor in the American University of Beirut, Syria, who, without having any previous acquaintance with Manichaeism, translated the Arabic phrase at once as 'by his spirit of bliss.' Quite independently my Assistant, [the late] Dr. Yohannan, likewise rendered it offhand as 'blessed (or beatific) spirit.' So much from authorities outside. As a result, the suggestion tentatively presented regarding the interpretation of this second passage seems worth taking into consideration.

= orig. p. 66 In view of all that has been brought forward

<sup>16</sup> For Arabic *yumnah* see Freytag, *Lex. Arabico-Latinum*, 4, p. 524, 'felicitas, prosperitas'; cf. Steingass, *Pers. Eng. Dict.* p. 1536, 'happiness, prosperity.'

<sup>17</sup> See Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 177, 178; Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2. 293, n. 1, 'Spirit of the Right [Hand],' where an Egyptian idea is suggested. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 199, n. 90, himself acknowledges that this 'Geist der Rechten' is not mentioned elsewhere (nirgends genannt) in the Fihrist and that we look for it later in vain (später vergebens). In putting forward the proposed interpretation as 'Spirit of Happiness,' I have by no means neglected carefully to consider TPhl. *dašnēzādag'ān*, 'sons of the right' in M. 4 f, line 14 (= Mū. 2. p. 58, duly consulting Müller's references; cf. also p. 57 *dašn*); nor, may be added, have I forgotten such passages as Acta Archelai, ch. 7, § 4-5 (ed. Beeson, p. 10-11) regarding the Manichaeans giving the right hand in greeting, and also the phrase of St. Augustine, *Epist. Fund.*, ch. 11, § 13, 'may the right hand of light protect you.' Due attention has been given likewise to some general allusions to 'the right' in Bousset, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 346; Legge, *Rivals and Forerunners*, 2. 164. Such references are merely included here to show that they have not been overlooked.

there appear to be good grounds for accepting the proposed etymology of the name of the goddess Rāmraṭūkh as meaning the very 'Liberality of Gladness,' or 'Bounteousness of Joy,' when applied to the Mother in the 'dialectic' (Soghdian) Turfan Fragment. Mānī's poetic imagination had a fancy for such highly-colored titles; witness his Adamas Hero, King of Honor, Splenditenens (Φεγγακάτοχος), Maiden of Light, and the rest.

## 2. The Problematic 'Nahnahah' as applied to the Mother of the Living in the Fihrist.

The Arabic account of the return of the pure soul of the Manichæan Elect, by several stages, to the supernal realm of Light, as given by an-Nadīm in the Fihrist, describes the Elect as first 'ascending by the Column of Praise (Milky Way) to the sphere of the Moon, and to the Primal Man (i.e. who is in the Sun), and to the —?— Mother of the Living, to where first he was in the Paradises of Light.'<sup>18</sup>

The word here marked as '—?—,' which precedes the Mother of Life, is a designation of some sort, whether nominal or adjectival. Flügel, in his translation (*Mani*, p. 100), renders it as a proper name—'zu der N a h n a h a der Mutter der Lebendigen.' In commenting upon this passage, Flügel (p. 343) simply says: 'N a h n a h a, ein Wort, das in seiner einfachen Uebersetzung die Abwendung des Bösen bedeutet.' So great is Flügel's authority that he has been generally followed by other writers in regarding the word as a proper name.<sup>19</sup> The only hint of hesitation expressed on the subject, so far as I have found, is an incidental intimation by Chavannes and Pelliot when

<sup>18</sup> See Flügel, *Mani*, text p. 70 ll. 6–8, transl. p. 100 ll. 27–30; and the complete edition of the Fihrist by Flügel-Roediger-Müller, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, I, p. 335 l. 15; cf. notes in vol. 2, p. 172.

<sup>19</sup> Thus also 'Nahnaha' in the translation of this passage by Kessler, *Mani*, p. 399; similarly other later writers.

touching, in a footnote, upon the designation of the Mother in the Chinese Manichaeon Treatise.<sup>20</sup> They mention this Fihrist passage with a slight qualification as to 'le nom de Nahnaha, que Flügel traduit hypothétiquement par "Abwendung des Bösen."' That is all they remark.

= orig. p. 67 As a student of Manichaeism, though not an Arabist, I have long felt uncertain as to whether, if really a proper name, such a designation as the 'Averting (of Evil)' was an appropriate one for the character of the Mother Goddess in the Religion of Mānī, or whether some other reading of the Arabic letters than Nahnahah might not be possible. Accordingly I had recourse to my friend and colleague Professor Richard Gottheil for help in the matter.

He carefully examined with me the variants in the three manuscripts noted in Flügel, p. 70, n. 9, finding no additional ones recorded in the large edition of the Fihrist by Flügel-Roediger-Müller, 1, p. 335 and 2, p. 172. It became clear that Flügel (apparently following Ms. C, since no comment is made) had based his reading and interpretation of 'Nahnahah,' as a nomen proprium, upon the Arabic verb *nahnah*, 'depulit, retinuit (aliquem a re),' for which verb, indeed, there is good authority in the older Arabic lexicographers.<sup>21</sup> Yet I still felt misgivings as to the reading and explanation adopted by Flügel, because it seemed to me non-Manichaeon in spirit. A further study then followed with regard to the variants recorded in Flügel's footnotes concerning the three other manuscripts (Hammer-Purgstall, Leyden, Vienna). These furnish: H. اللهه, L. الهيه, V. الله. Doctor Gottheil observed that the unpointed word in manuscript V. can be read as *al-bahiyyah*, the form *bahiyyah* being a well-known adjective

<sup>20</sup> Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 511, n. 1, end.

<sup>21</sup> See Freytag, *Lexicon*, vol. 4, p. 347 (citations from Arab lexicographers); De Goeje, *Glossarium* (Tabari), p. 532 (two citations, one being from an old *Diwān*); Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch Arab. Deutsch*, 2, p. 1075, *nahnah*, 'abhalten.'

that denotes 'possessing the quality of beauty or goodliness, shining, brilliant, radiant.'<sup>22</sup> Further support for this reading is given by the Leyden manuscript (L.), which explicitly marks the letters as *b h y m (!) h*, and can be read as *bahiyyah* by omitting the *m* as excrescent.

On the basis of these conferences with my colleague I venture to offer, tentatively, the suggestion that we should consider the designation in question as an adjective, not as a proper name, and adopt the reading *al-bahiyyah*, 'the beautiful, goodly, shining, brilliant, = orig. p. 68 radiant.' Probably 'radiant' will best suit the Manichaean sense. In translating such terms from the Arabic we need to take into account the atmosphere involved. But it will remain for others more qualified than myself to decide whether we are ultimately entitled to say *Exit* 'Nahnaha' as 'Mutter der Lebendigen,' and *Enter* 'the Radiant One, the Mother of the Living,' thus bedecked for the rôle.

**A d d e n d u m .** One point more in this connection. The interpretation proposed, as giving an adjectival epithet to the Mother of the Living, may possibly help to throw some light on the meaning of the problematic Turkish adjective *ögütmiş* (or *ogütmiş*) applied to the Mother (*ög*, *og*) in one of the Turkish Manichaean Fragments from Khocho. In Frag. T. II. D. 176 recto, l. 14-15 (= Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho*, 3, p. 15, Berlin, 1922) there occurs the phrase *ogütmiş og*, which Le Coq renders by 'die \*gepriesene Mutter(-Gottheit),' leaving the translation of the adjective '\*gepriesene' as uncertain. Andreas, in an earlier rendering (1919) of the same passage, takes the attribute in question as a participial adjective (but adds an interrogation mark) and translates as 'die

<sup>22</sup> See Freytag, *Lexicon*, I. p. 168, *bahī*, adj. 'pulcher, nitens, splendens'; *bahā*, noun, 'pulchritudo, splendor'; also verb *bahā*, 'nituit, micat'; cf. Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch Arab. Deutsch.*, I. p. 267, 'in schönheit glänzend'; see likewise Lane, *Arab. Eng. Dict.* I, p. 270 (adj.), 269 (verb).



Mutter, welche sie [die Tochter des Lichts] gebiert (?).'<sup>23</sup> The query now raised is a double one. Can we perhaps associate this debatable Turkish epithet in some way with the meaning suggested for the Arabic above? Or can we connect its meaning in some manner with that implied in the previous discussion of Rāmārātūkh and the footnote concerning the Chinese *Shan*? Specialists in those fields must decide. [See now, Dec. 31, 1930, the remarks added above, n. 7 end and n. 12.]

### 3. The Manichæan 'Seals.'

Mānī's religion enjoined upon its followers a belief in and the keeping of certain 'seals' as consecrated symbols of the faith. These seals are seven in number, as can now be shown. With three of them (moral) we have long been familiar as the Three Seals of the mouth, hand, and bosom, to be observed in the daily conduct of practical life. But until the Turfan texts became available it was not known that there were four additional seals, spiritual or doctrinal in their nature, the belief in which as articles of faith was to be accepted by the Manichæan before entering into the = orig. p. 69 religion. Drawing upon these texts from Eastern Turkistan, and supplementing them from other sources, the present section of the paper will be devoted to calling attention to this fourfold group in particular, and then to discussing also the well-known group of three in somewhat less detail.

(a) These four doctrinal seals, which first came to notice through the discovery of the Manichæan documents themselves, are called the 'Four Light Seals,' emblematic of true faith. The passage in which they are particularly referred to is found in the

<sup>23</sup> See Andreas cited in Reitzenstein, *Das Mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, p. 52 top, Heidelberg, 1919. In a footnote (*loc. cit.* n. 2) Reitzenstein adds the remark: 'Prof. Andreas erkennt ein transitives Partizip, das sich auf das Vorausgehende beziehen muss.'

Turkish Manichaean Confession-prayer, where the faithful repeats the following words:

‘Four Light Seals (*tört y(a)ruk tamya*) have we sealed in our hearts. (1) One is Love, (and that is) the seal of Azrua the God. (2) The second (is) Faith, the seal of the God of the Sun and the Moon. (3) The third is the Fear of God, (and this is) the seal of the Fivefold God (i.e. Primal Man, Ormazd). (4) The fourth is the wise Knowledge, the seal of the Burkhan s (or Divine Revealers of Religion).’<sup>24</sup>

The four seals of doctrine therefore comprise (1) love for the Godhead, (2) faith in the Sun and Moon as the great orbs of light, (3) reverence for Primal Man as a celestial power, (4) belief in the existence of Divine Messengers who, from time to time, bring inspired knowledge to the world.

A ray of light breaks in. The four spiritual seals betoken the fourfold majesty of the Father God in his divine aspects (*τὸν τετραπρόσωπον Πατέρα τοῦ Μεγέθους*), as so named in the Greek Formula of Abjuration to be recited by Manichaeans on their conversion to Christianity. [Cf. Study IV, p. 154, table in note on S. 7 d 13, for these four aspects.] Further elucidation is obtained when these four seals are brought into connection with a Turfan Pahlavi Fragment that refers to ‘(1) God Zarvān, (2) Light, (3) Power, (4) Wisdom,’ and also into connection with a similar one in a Turkish Manichaean Fragment of like content. But this point

<sup>24</sup> See Le Coq, *Khuastuanift*, ll. 177–183 (*JRAS.* 1911, p. 291–292); id. German edition, *Chuastuanift*, p. 17, l. 15–18 (*Abh. kgl. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1911, p. 17). [I may simply add (as first available to me after this article was originally published) that W. Bang, *Muséon* (1923), 36. p. 156–157 B, translates *tamya* by ‘Eigentumszeichen’; see p. 210–211 for his discussion.]

is not elaborated here because it will be found discussed elsewhere. [Consult the bracketed references given above.]

[= orig. p. 70] It is sufficient to have drawn attention to the connection.<sup>25</sup>

A proper understanding of these Four Bright Seals as spiritual and as doctrines of faith helps to throw added light on a passage in the *Fihrist* which sums up the spiritual precepts that Mānī gave as (four) articles of faith, besides the three seals of conduct and the ten commandments, in the following words:

‘The Belief in the Four Great-majesties (lit. ‘Greatnesses’),<sup>26</sup> namely, (1) God, (2) his Light, (3) his Power, and (4) his Wisdom. Now, (1) God, whose name be glorious, is the King of the Paradises of Light; (2) his Light (is) the Sun and the Moon; (3) his Power (is) the Five Angels, namely, the Zephyr, Wind, Light, Water, and Fire; (4) his Wisdom, the Holy Religion.’ [This latter is further explained by special reference to the revealers and exemplars of the faith.]<sup>27</sup>

The application of this Arabic passage is quite obvious in view of what has been brought out above.

The interpretation that has been suggested aids likewise

<sup>25</sup> The explanation offered above appears to dispose of the uncertainty which puzzled Le Coq in regard to the number ‘four’ (in contrast to the familiar ‘three’ seals) when dealing with the Turkish passage (see Le Coq, *Khuastuanift*, p. 303, n. 34). I have since found that Alfarcic, *Les Écritures*, 2. 56–57, holds a view similar to my own. Differently, Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals*, 2. 343; compare furthermore Reitzenstein, *Iran. Erlös.* p. 203–204.

<sup>26</sup> The Four Great-majesties are the same as those in the grouping given also just above. Besides these four, Manichaeism recognizes also ten and twelve great majestic essences, see Flügel, *Mani*, p. 272, n. 198, p. 274, n. 203.

<sup>27</sup> See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 64 (text), 95 (transl.); complete edition of the *Fihrist*, I, p. 333.

in making clear the fact that we have a similar allusion to the four doctrinal seals in a Chinese Manichaean Fragment, discovered by Pelliot (see *JA.* 1913, p. 105), which contains rules for entering into the faith. The believer, after accepting the tenets of the Two Principles and the Three Times, or Ages, is then led (*op. cit.* p. 116) to the consideration of 'the Four Calm Bodies of the Law,—which Four Bodies of the Law are . . . .'<sup>28</sup> Although = orig. p. 71 the enumeration of the four is missing, because the rest of the text is lost, it is nevertheless certain that we can supply the general contents of the lacuna by referring to the material in the various quotations which have been cited above. So much for the luminous Four Seals of doctrine.

(b) We may now turn briefly to the familiar Three Seals, which are ethical and practical in their nature as relating to the conduct of the body. These are not only now found referred to in the actual Manichaean documents, but they have previously been known through allusions in Christian and Muhammadan writers.

Thus, through Saint Augustine we are well acquainted with these *tria signacula* as 'the seals of the mouth, hand, and bosom'—*oris, manus* (or *manuum*), *sinus*.<sup>29</sup> In an-Nadīm's *Fihrist* they are grouped

<sup>28</sup> Pelliot, *JA.* 1913, p. 116, who adds (note 3), 'Nous ignorons absolument ce que sont ces "corps de la Loi."' [Postscript, January, 1924. I have since found that my interpretation of this point, which was independently reached, Feb. 27, 1923, and brought out in a brief oral communication at the Centenary Celebration of the Royal Asiatic Society in July of that year, had been anticipated by Alfarc, *Les Écritures*, 2. 56. So much the better for such admirable support.] [Later postscript, Dec. 31, 1930. Concerning the Four Calm Bodies of the Law see now also the Chinese Manichaean Roll H in London, stanzas 10b, 27d, 38b, 56c, 58c, 59c, in W. and L., *Die Stellung Jesu* (1926), p. 98, 102, 104, 107.]

<sup>29</sup> Augustine, *De Moribus Manichaeorum*, ch. 10, § 19, and ch. 11-19 (§ 20-73), where the great Church Father discusses these. A fuller

simply as the 'Three Seals' (*thalath khawātīm*),<sup>30</sup> although, in the same work, the author makes mention likewise of a special Epistle by Mānī on the 'Seal of the Mouth.'<sup>31</sup>

In the Turfan Pahlavi Fragments themselves, as far as published, there are two [now three] allusions to the Manichaean Seals. One of these (M. 32 recto, l. 6-7) refers to 'the complete seal of my hand, mouth, and thought.'<sup>32</sup> The other (S. 9 recto b, lines 19-23), in the Petrograd collection, alludes to the soul, which has been imprisoned in darkness, as being led to believe on Ōhrmīzd (Primal Man) and to 'accept most actively every admonition, commandment, and the seal of goodly concord.'<sup>33</sup> [A third TPhl. allusion became later available to me, Oct. 30, 1924, after this article was published. It is found in Frag. M. 801, given with Müller's transliteration and German rendering, in A. von Le Coq's *Die Manichäischen Miniaturen*, p. 40, where a blessing is invoked upon all the faithful, 'who are perfect in the Five Admonitions and the Three Seals.']<sup>33a</sup> In the Turkish

= orig. p. 72

Manichaean Confession-prayer (ll. 320-321) these ethical symbols are likewise called the 'Three Seals' (*üč t(a)mγa*), when the Auditor accepts the articles of 'the Ten Commandments, the Seven Alms, the

treatment of this subject is omitted for the present, being reserved for treatment elsewhere.

<sup>30</sup> See Flügel, p. 64, l. 5 (text); p. 95, l. 20 (transl.); cf. also p. 41, 281, 289-291.

<sup>31</sup> Flügel, p. 74, l. 1 (*khātamū'l-fam*); p. 103 (§ 13); Kessler, p. 216.

<sup>32</sup> M. 32 recto. l. 6-7 (= Mü. 2. p. 63), *mūhr 'ispūrig čē man dast rūmb 'ūd andēšišn*.

<sup>33</sup> S. 9 recto b, lines 19-21 (Salemann, *Manichaica*, 3. p. 9), *harv vīsp-iš andarz 'ūd farmān 'ūd mūhr 'i xvāštī vazīštīhā pādīrīft ānād*. [See above, Study III, the note on S. 9 b 21.]

<sup>33a</sup> [Frag. M. 801, second page, lines 5-6, *kē panž andarz vā seh mūhr 'īspūr hēnd*. Consult n. 35 end, below.]

Three Seals';<sup>34</sup> and they are furthermore implied in a passage in the same Confession-prayer which refers to keeping the Ten Commandments, 'three with the mouth, three with the heart, three with the hand, and one with the whole self.'<sup>35</sup> [Moreover, in the Chinese Manichaean Roll H, stanza 392, now available (1926), we have a similar allusion to 'the Seven Alms, the Ten Commandments, and the Three Seals'.]<sup>35a</sup>

In this connection it may be stated that the conception of the three seals, while corresponding in idea to the Zoroastrian injunction to preserve purity in 'thought, word, and deed' or to the Buddhistic precepts regarding 'body, speech, and thought,' may have been a wholly natural one, and not due to any special outside influence upon Mānī.<sup>36</sup>

To sum up. Sufficient evidence has been adduced to show the existence of the doctrine of seven seals in Manichaeism: four spiritual, as tenets of faith; and three moral,

<sup>34</sup> See Le Coq, *Khuastuanift*, ll. 319-321 (*JRAS.* 1911, p. 298).

<sup>35</sup> See Le Coq, *op. cit.* ll. 193-195. In regard to associating the Three Seals thus with the Ten Commandments consult also the remarks by Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA.* 1911, p. 574, n. 1; and *JA.* 1913, p. 380, top. [P. S. Dec. 30, 1928. Although I had previously marked the passage, I overlooked at the time when this article originally went to press, early in 1924, to include an allusion in the Turkish Fragment T. M. 170 verso lines 4-5 (Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. p. 39 bot.) to *č(a)xšapt tamya*, 'das Čaxšaput-Siegel,' which Mānī gave to his disciples as evidently summarizing his admonitions. The preceding Turkish Frag. T. M. 169 r. 7-8 (*op. cit.* p. 39 top) speaks of five admonitions, *biš čaxšapt*, 'fünf Vorschriften,' with which we may probably compare the TPhl. allusion to *panž andarz* as cited above in note 33a. Compare, furthermore, Le Coq, *op. cit.* p. 21 bot., for another allusion to *čyšapt tamya*. This is merely a matter of detail for further investigation sometime later.]

<sup>35a</sup> [See Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (1926), p. 123 mid., stanza 392.]

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *JA.* 1911, p. 574, n. 1, end.

as standards of conduct. Emphasis, in conclusion, must be laid on the fact that Hearers and Elect alike were expected both to accept the four bright seals of faith and to observe the three moral seals in practice. This implied a high standard of living if they were truly conformed to.

Originally printed in March, 1924. Additions, up to December 31, 1930, are indicated in square brackets [ ].





## INDEXES



# INDEX I

## GENERAL INDEX

### A

- Abortions, female, given to Namrāēl, 249  
 male, devoured by Ashaqlūn, 249  
 Abortive births of the Daughters of Darkness, 248 n. 115, 249  
 Adam, awakened from the sleep of death of Jesus, 12, 249-250, 251  
 becomes cognizant that he is formed in part of the Light elements, 252  
 born of Namrāēl and Ashaqlūn, 249  
 innocent, 249  
 luminous particles predominate in, 11, 252 n. 137  
 overcome by darkness and lust, 281  
 redemption of, 281  
 weeping of, 253  
 Adamas, belligerent hero, 300-301, 309  
 dragon-quelling, 310  
 fights against the monster Sin, 247  
 holds Azdahāg down inside a mountain, 320  
 holds a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left, 300, 247  
 kills the Archons, 233 n. 45, 298  
 son of Living Spirit, evoked from his Reason, 229, 297  
 subduer of demons, 312  
 Admonitions, five, 335  
 Africa, North, spread of Manichaeism in, 18  
 Age, second, of the universe, 171  
 Ages, three, of Time, 7, 334  
*Ahrāmīšn*, the leading heavenward and release of the particles of Light, 40  
 Ahriman, 9, 130, 132, 149  
 as Prince of Deceit, 149  
 creator of living creatures, 181, 198  
 destroyer of living creatures, 181, 198  
 possesses only backward knowledge and ignorance, according to Zoroastrianism, 189  
 possesses pre-vision, according to Manichaeism teaching, 189  
 the world a bodily formation of, 177, 184  
 Ahura Mazdāh, 93  
 Air: see Light Air.  
 Albigenes, heretics of Southern France, 19  
 Albirūnī, mentions the Living Spirit, 291  
 Alms, giving to the Perfect, 15  
 seven, 335  
 Amahrāspandān: see Elements.  
 Amesha Spentas, in Zoroastrianism, 92-93  
 Ammianus Marcellinus, Roman historian, quoted, 169  
 Amū, Mānī's pupil, vision of, 277  
 Angels, allusions in Chinese hymn of praise to the five gathering, 150  
 five, as the Power of God, 333  
 four, holding the lowest heaven, 36, 37, 63  
 of Light, 129, 132, 141  
 join in petitioning the Friend of Light to send some one to redeem Adam, 281  
 soul-gathering, 31, 44, 131, 150  
 stationed in Earth Eight, 36, 37, 72  
 two, placed in charge over the two bound dragons, 30, 31  
 Animal life, origin of, 248 n. 115  
 Animals, from self-pregnant female Archons, 11

- Anōshīrvān: see Khusrau I Anōshīrvān.
- Answer: see Respondent.
- Appellant (Khrōshtag), 231, 259, 290  
in the Chinese Treatise, 263  
Living Spirit, vested with, 232, 261  
and Respondent, join together and  
ascend to the Mother of the  
Living and to the Living Spirit,  
231, 261
- Archelaus, Bishop, Mānī disputes  
with, 294
- Arches, diagram of, 74  
five, on Earth Five, 33, 35
- Archons, bodies of, thrown upon the  
earth of darkness, 184, 234-235,  
315  
kept captives and bound to the  
heavens, 317 n. 12  
killed and flayed, 233, 317  
seduction of, 179, 191, 193, 244  
two, keep watch over Adam, 250 n.  
122  
two, seized and chained by Jesus,  
250 n. 122
- Archons of Darkness, seized, chained  
and flayed by the Living Spirit  
and his five Sons, 10, 186, 233 n.  
45, 290  
seduced by the Third Messenger,  
11
- Armor of Ōhrmīzd, 162, 170  
the Five Elements as, 79, 93
- Armor of righteousness, 130, 144, 145  
idea familiar in Manichaeism,  
Christianity and Zoroastrianism,  
144
- Ashaqlūn, son of the King of Dark-  
ness, 249
- Atlas: see Mānbēd.
- Ātūrpāt, prime minister of Shāhpūhr  
II, contradicts Mānī's teaching,  
203
- Auditors: see Hearers.
- Augustine, Saint, familiar with Mani-  
chaeian hierarchy, 15
- a Manichaeian for nine years, 9  
a Manichaeian hearer, 300  
writes against Manichaeians, 18,  
289, 290, 314
- Avarzōg, one of the chief fiends in  
Manichaeism, personification of  
lust, 28 n. 1, 106-108
- Ax of Wisdom, Primal Man armed  
with, 267
- Āz, 'Greed,' an archfiend in Mani-  
chaeism, expelled from the soul  
by Ōhrmīzd, 77, 80, 85, 106-108  
in Chinese Manichaeian documents,  
107  
in Turkish Manichaeian texts, 106
- Azh-i-Dahāk, confined in Mount  
Damāvand, 320 n. 19
- Azdaḥāg (Dragon), held down inside  
a mountain by Adamas, 320  
see also Dragons.
- Āzrua: see Zarvān.

## B

- Baanes, 287 n. 49
- Babylonian traits in Manichaeism, 7
- Bahram I, Sasanian King, martyrdom  
of Mānī under, 6, 160  
two hundred followers of Mānī  
buried alive, head downwards in  
the earth, by, 160
- Bām: see Bān.
- Bān: see Great Architect.
- Battaī, disciples of, recognized ten  
heavens, 317
- Battle, primeval, 145
- Beasts of fury in Hell, 230
- Beloved of the Lights: see Friend of  
Light.
- Bema, solemn annual festival, com-  
memorating the anniversary of  
Mānī's martyr death, 15
- Birth of living creatures retards the  
process of separating light from  
darkness, 191
- Mānī's, glorification of, 277 n. 18

- Mānī's, Friend of Light and Primal  
 Man present at, 277 n. 18  
 improper according to Mānī, 181  
 Bishops in Manichaeism hierarchy, 15,  
 165  
 Bodies of Archons and polluted Light  
 elements used in construction of  
 the earths, 302 n. 18, 317  
 Five Luminous, 227 n. 19  
 Body, as microcosm may help in  
 gradual release of the particles of  
 Light, 100  
 dead, not to be restored, 110, 181  
 originates from Evil Principle, 184  
 Bogomilism, Christian heretical sect  
 in Bulgaria, 19  
 Bolos, entangled mass of light in  
 darkness, 16, 47-48  
 Border (*Vimand*), descent of the  
 Mother of Life and the Living  
 Spirit to, 259, 260  
 primordial, where Light and Dark-  
 ness touch each other, 24, 30,  
 31, 40, 61, 181, 200, 259, 260  
 Boudes, 287 n. 49  
 Buckler of the faithful, 130, 132, 145  
 Buddha acknowledged by Mānī as  
 one of his predecessors, 7  
 Buddhist traits in Manichaeism, 7,  
 14, 111, 199  
 Bulwark, constructed against Ahri-  
 man, a Zoroastrian doctrine, 52  
 Burkhans: see Divine Messengers.  
 Byzantium, spread of Manichaeism  
 in, 17
- C
- Call, see Appellant.  
 Caption Lines, translation of, 29, 78,  
 81, 87, 113, 129, 141  
 Cataclysm, universal, ensues when at  
 the end of the world Mānbēd  
 throws off the burden, 303, 304  
 Cathari, heretics of Northern Italy,  
 19  
 Cattle, destruction of, in Mani-  
 chaeism, 207  
 raising of, rejected by Mānī, 207  
 Caverns of Darkness, 263, 264  
 Caverns of Death, five, 24, 33  
 China, Manichaeism spread to, 6, 17  
 Chinese Manichaean documents, 4 n.  
 3  
 Christian coloring of Manichaeism,  
 164-165, 289  
 elements in Manichaeism, more  
 strongly emphasized in West, 7  
 Chuastuanift: see Khuastuanift.  
 Church organization, Manichaean, 15  
 Circle, earth regarded by Mānī as,  
 207, 319  
 Clergy, classification of, 165  
 higher Manichaean, massacre of,  
 159, 160, 163-164  
 Column of Dawn, 13  
 Column of Glory, 303  
 Column of Light, third member of  
 third triad, 275  
 Column of Praise: see Column of  
 Dawn.  
 Columns, diagram of, 74  
 four times seven, on Earth Six, 35,  
 58  
 three, on Earth Five, 33, 35  
 Commandments of Mānī: see Ten  
 Commandments.  
 Concupiscence, corresponds to female  
 Archon, 251 n. 134  
 Confession, Manichaean, 15  
 Conflagration, lasting 1468 years, will  
 destroy world, 16, 120, 217  
 Conflict, final between the powers of  
 good and evil shortly before the  
 end of the world, 120  
 Constantius, Roman Emperor, 169  
 Contentment symbolizes Adamas, 312  
 Copulation of living creatures retards  
 the separation of light and dark-  
 ness, 179  
 Cosmology, Manichaean, found in  
 Turfan fragment, 22

- Cosmos, established by the Living Spirit, 233 n. 45, 296  
 and human body, parallelism between, an old Iranian idea, 179, 186, 190, 319 n. 17  
 Crown-bearer, name of an angel, 225 n. 13  
 Cultivation of plants, forbidden by Mānī, 181, 198  
 Custody of Splendor (Splenditenens), son of the Living Spirit, evoked from his Intelligence, 229, 296  
 carries the heavens, 305, 306  
 holds the Five Luminous Gods, 236, 300  
 keeps the world suspended, 236 n. 57, 298, 300, 301, 302  
 and Atlas, unreal beings according to Augustine, 301  
 Cutting the roots of the evil trees, symbolic meaning of, 266, 267
- D
- Daḥībēd: see Lord of the Country.  
 Damāvand, Mount, Azh-i-Daḥāk confined in, 320 n. 19  
 Dark Earth, the Light Air and Light Earth superimposed upon, 23  
 under the Eight Earths, 25, 33  
 Darkness, character of, 9  
 realm of, 9  
 synonymous with matter and evil, 7  
 see also King of Darkness.  
 Daughter of Zarvān, ability to change form and appearance, 196, 244 n. 93  
 Daughters of Darkness, pregnant of their own nature, 248  
 Daughters of Time, assuming different appearances, 196  
 twelve, shown to Māzandarān demons, 179, 191, 192, 193, 194  
 Day, holy, religious term in Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism, 129, 132, 140  
 Deity, aspect of the Good Ruler of the Realm of Light, 8, 154, 333  
 Deliberation, a Glory of the Father of Greatness, 223  
 the Supporter evoked from the Living Spirit's, 229, 297  
 Demiurge: see Living Spirit.  
 Demoniactal powers swallow part of Light from Primal Man, 9, 94, 226 n. 18, 272  
 Demons bound to the Zodiac, according to the Turkish Manichaean texts, 233 n. 45  
 chained to the sky, 24, 177, 233 n. 45, 294, 319  
 commotion made by, 78, 84, 87  
 death-making, 78, 84, 87  
 torment the soul, 79  
 Deposits: see Four Deposits.  
 Devil, head of, split by Primal Man, 269  
 Devil (Shumnu), subjugation of, by Primal Man, 268  
 Digestion of food important in releasing of the imprisoned light, 252 n. 140  
 Divine Messengers, belief in, doctrinal Manichaean seal, 14, 332  
 Divinities, 129, 132, 141  
 regional distribution of, 275 n. 11a  
 Door, leading heavenward from the dark domain, opened by the Appellant for the Primal Man, 262  
 for leading up the Wind, Water and Fire, 37  
 Doors (or Gates) of heaven, 34, 35, 55  
 see also Twelve Gates.  
 Dove, image of the Holy Spirit, 294  
 Dragons (Azdahāg), two, bound by Living Spirit to revolve the firmament 30, 31, 38, 39  
 Dualism at the basis of Mānī's religion, 7-8

## E

- Earth, see Light Earth.  
 Earth, created from the bodies of the demons, 177, 185, 318  
 dry and moist parts, 246  
 eightfold, 315  
 from the excrement of the Sons of Darkness, 185, 318  
 new, construction of, by the Great Bān, 242, 243 n. 90, 284  
 Earth of Darkness, the Mother of the Living and the Living Spirit descend to, 232, 260, 262, 263  
 Earth Eight, our earth, 36, 37, 63, 72  
 Earth Five, placed upon the Four Deposits, 25, 32, 33, 72, 310  
 Earth Seven, description of, 36, 37, 60, 61, 72  
 dumping ground for the dark mass of refuse from Earth Eight, 36, 37, 64, 65, 72  
 Earth Six, great and firm earth, creation of, 25, 34, 35  
 laid upon the Columns and Arches, 34, 35, 56, 58, 72, 311  
 Earths: see Eight earths.  
 Earths Seven and Eight, creation of, 36, 37, 60  
 placed above Earth Six, 60  
 Earthquake, occurrence of, caused by Omophorus, 303, 304, 305  
 East, Friend of Light appears at the time of the final World-Conflagration from, 280, 286, 287  
 Mithra appears from, 276  
 Eight earths, 314-320  
 allusions to, 314-320  
 construction of, 10, 243 n. 90, 294  
 division of, 22, 25  
 laid one above the other over the primordial Dark Earth, 25  
 produced from the bodies of the Archons, 184, 235, 315, 317  
 successive formation of, 24  
 supported by Mānbēd, 298, 314

25

- Elders, Manichaean, 15, 165  
 Elect, 129, 132, 138, 328  
 abstain from marriage, 212  
 asceticism of, 13, 191  
 higher class of followers of Manichaeism, 13  
 heavenly journey of, 278 n. 20, 328  
 in the life hereafter, 15, 278 n. 20  
 not corrupted by gold and women, property and wealth, 81, 85, 116  
 Elements, Five Bright (*Amahrāspandān*, *Mahrēspandān*), sacrificed by Primal Man, 226 n. 17  
 composing the armor of Ōhrmīzd (Primal Man), 79, 84, 91-93, 226 n. 16, 276 n. 13  
 dark, commingled with the Five Light Natures, 266  
 invoked with praise, 129, 131, 132, 141  
 Elements of Light swallowed by the powers of Darkness, 226 n. 18, 229  
 purified, employed in making the heavens, 302 n. 18  
 Enemies of true religion, conquering of, 130, 132, 147-148  
 Ephraim the Syrian, 303  
 Ether, light element, 31, 50, 333  
 Eve, born of Namrāēl and Ashaqlūn, 249  
 composed of dark elements, 11, 252 n. 137  
 Evocation, first, 224, 256  
 second, etc., 9, 12, 228, 257, 271-295  
 Evocations, primal celestial, 224 n. 8  
 three successive, 271  
 Excellent Mother: see Mother of the Living.  
 Expeditions to Turfān, 4 n. 3  
 Eye, Evil, 130, 132, 148

## F

- Faith in the Sun and Moon, doctrinal  
 Manichaean seal, 14, 332

- Family, discouraged in Manichaeism, 181, 198
- Father God, divine aspects of, 332  
triune relationship with the Mother Goddess and Son, 321
- Father of Light and Greatness, 9, 223  
calls forth three luminous agents as a second evocation, 9  
calls into being the Mother of Life, 256  
see also Zarvān.
- Faustus, 18, 289  
identifies the Living Spirit with the Holy Ghost, 289
- Fiend (*drūxš*), 79, 98
- Fire, sun composed of, 31  
as a covering for the Sun God, 33  
door for leading up, 37
- Fire-God, made into an ax and a spear by Ōhrmīzd, 145, 269  
made into a spear seventy myriad miles long, 269
- Firmament, creation of, 30, 31, 39  
see also Sky.
- First Man: see Primal Man.
- Five arches, on Earth Five, 32, 33, 35, 72  
caverns, 32, 33, 48-49  
mansions, 30, 31, 44  
sacred number in Manichaean religion, 15, 90, 92  
soul-gathering Angels, 30, 31, 44, 131, 132, 150  
spiritual elements in man symbolically compared with Five Sons of Living Spirit as standards in macrocosm, 312
- Fivefold God, 95
- Flock, figurative expression for the Manichaean congregation, 130, 132, 143
- Foetuses, of the Daughters of Darkness, dropped, 248
- Formula of Abjuration, Greek, repudiates Manichaean doctrine of creation, 186, 289, 305
- Fortunatus, a Manichaean, upholds that souls were sent by God, 100-101
- Four Calm Bodies of the Law, 334  
dark elements, 32, 33, 50  
deposits, or basic Earths, 25, 32, 33, 72  
doctrinal seals, 14, 331, 332, 333, 334, 336  
gates in Earth Eight, 36, 37, 72  
light seals, in Turkish Confession Prayer, 111, 332-333  
quarters of Earths Seven and Eight, 36, 37, 60, 63, 64, 72  
walls, on Earth Six, 34, 35, 72, 201
- Fourteen doors, 30, 31, 45, 72
- Friend of Light, 228, 257, 273, 277, 280  
alluded to as "the God of the Light Realm," 280  
assumes the initial role in the rescue of Primal Man, 258  
first member of the second evocation, 283  
the God accompanying Jesus, in redemption of Adam, 282  
heavenly mediator for mankind, 282  
identified with the God Marēsaf, 273, 278, 280  
in Arabic account, 280-281  
loosens the bonds of darkness encompassing the Primal Man, 229 n. 26, 258, 266, 274 n. 7a, 281
- Messenger of Good Tidings, 281, 282  
second messenger, 279 n. 24  
standing next after Primal Man in the Manichaean Pantheon, 283
- Friend of Lights: see Friend of Light.
- Future life: see Life hereafter in Manichaeism.

## G

- Gates: see Twelve Gates.
- Glories, five, intellectual character-



- istics inherent in the Supreme Being, 223
- Gloriosus Rex: see King of Glory.
- Gnostic features in Manichaeism, 7
- Gnostic system, Mother of the Living in, 321
- Gnosticism, threefold distinction of man's constitution, borrowed by Mānī from, 13
- God, attributes of, 154
- guest in the body, 207,
- prisoner in human body, 207
- Godhead: see Father of Light and Greatness.
- Gods, Five Luminous, as Elements, 236
- Good deeds, Manichaean doctrine, 131, 132, 151, 152
- Good faith symbolizes the Great King of Honor, 312
- Good Ruler of the Realm of Light, 8
- Good words, efficacy of, in Manichaeism, 151
- Goodly concord, seal of, 80, 82, 335
- Grain, formed from the seed of the Māzandarāns, 179, 191
- Grave of the Powers of Darkness, 284, 285
- Great Architect (Bān), constructor of the Grave where the elements of the Powers of Darkness will be finally buried, 284, 285
- designer of the future Paradise, 9, 285
- in the Spiritual Universe, 285
- member of the second celestial triad, 273
- not a participant in the rescue of Primal Man, 9, 257-258
- ordered to construct the New Earth, 242-243
- plays a part in connection with the end of the world, 284, 285
- relation with the Living Spirit, 285
- second figure in the second evocation of the Father of Light, 9, 228, 257, 283, 287
- Great Builder: see Great Architect.
- Great Fire, 304
- Great King of Honor, gathers heavenward the members of Primal Man, 301
- keeps guard over heavens and earths, 233 n. 45, 236, 298 n. 9, 299
- son of Living Spirit, evoked from his Knowledge, 229, 296, 297
- see also Wind-raising God.
- Great-majesties: see Majesties.
- Greed, corresponds to the seductive demon, 251 n. 134
- Grīw*, 'Spirit,' 78, 84, 88-89
- etymology of, 89
- Great New Paradise, mystery of, 32, 33, 48, 243 n. 90
- Guardian Powers, five great, 141

## H

- Hair in the dough, as simile, 245
- Hamadān, father of Mānī from, 5
- Hand, seal of, 335
- Happiness, Spirit of, 327
- Hearers (Auditors), 129, 132, 138
- in the life hereafter, 15
- lower class of followers of Manichaeism, 14
- observances of, 14
- Heaven, doors of: see Doors.
- Heaven, lowest, set by the Living Spirit on the head and hand of Mānbēd, 34, 35, 56, 57
- tenfold blue, 315-316
- Heavens created of the skins of the Archons of Darkness, 10
- in speculative systems earlier than Mānī's, 316-317.
- see also Ten Heavens.
- Hegemonius, 303
- Hell, fiery, 130, 132, 148

- names of, 65
- see also Twelve Hells.
- Helpers, powerful, sons of the Living Spirit, 130, 132, 141, 142
- Hierarchy, Manichaean, 15, 165
- Holder of Splendor: see Custody of Splendor.
- Holy Spirit, 289, 291, 292, 294
- Hörmizd I, Sasanian King, tolerant towards Mānī, 160
- Hours, twelve, 195, n. 3, 196
- Human species, creation of, 11
- Hymns, Manichaean, 15, 131, 132, 151

## I

- Iblīs, 226 n. 18, 259
- India, Northern, Mānī's preaching in, 6
- Intelligence, a Glory of the Father of Greatness, 223
- the Custody of Splendor evoked from the Living Spirit's, 229, 296
- the Five Luminous Goos deprived of, 227

## J

- Jains, forbidden to engage in agriculture, 198
- Jesus, acknowledged by Mānī as his predecessor, 7, 12
- associated with Vahman and the Virgin of Light, 133
- Celestial, Primal Man prototype of, 304, 324 n. 10
- Child, 27 n. 1, 29
- dawn, 27 n. 1
- divine beings in the presence of, 130, 132
- docetic according to Mānī, 12
- envoy of the Spirit, 12, 277, 278 n. 21
- first member of a triad, 12, 277 n. 16
- a fourth evocation, 12
- as friend, 251 n. 129

- grace, 27 n. 1
- hanging on every tree, 12, 252 n. 140
- the life-giving, 134
- liberating, 249 n. 120
- Luminous, 249
- Patibilis, 12, 252 n. 140, 302
- residing in the moon, 134
- reveals himself to Adam as celestial Jesus and identical with light, 12
- sent to save Adam, 249-253, 282
- verified ideal, 7
- weapon, 27 n. 1
- work, 27 n. 1

- Joannes Damascenus, the Eastern Church father, applies the Manichaean idea of creation to men and mountains, 185-186, 318
- Joyousness, designation of the Mother of the Living, 325, 327
- Judgment and judge, rejected by Mānī, 207
- Justinian, Byzantine Emperor, letter from Khusrau I to, 169

## K

- Kavādh, Sasanian King, 160-161
- Khrōshtag: see Appellant.
- Khurāsān, Mānī's preaching in, 6
- Khūrmūzta: see Primal Man.
- Khuastuanift (*X'āstavanēft*), Turkish Manichaean Confession Prayer, 95, 111, 183
- Khusrau I, Anōshīrvān, Sasanian king, persecution of Mazdakites by, 160-161
- Manichaeans persecuted by, 161
- Mazdak executed by, 161
- writes to Justinian, 169
- Khusrau II, titles of, 169
- Killing of cattle unlawfully, forbidden in Zoroastrianism, 207
- forbidden by Mānī, 181, 198-199
- injunction against, of Buddhist origin, 199

- King of Darkness, invasion of, 224  
 identified with the Evil Principle, 223-224
- King of Glory, evokes coverings for protection of the Three Wheels, 239, 299  
 set in motion the Three Wheels, 62, 300, 310  
 son of the Living Spirit, evoked from his Thought, 229, 297  
 son of Living Spirit, flays the Archons, 233 n. 45, 298
- King of Honor: see Great King of Honor.
- King of Light, see Father of Greatness.
- Knowledge, doctrinal Manichaean seal, 332  
 a Glory of the Father of Greatness, 223  
 the Great King of Honor evoked from the Living Spirit's, 229, 297
- Krotkov, N., Russian consul at Urumchi, brought in 1908-1911 the Manichaean fragments S7, S8 and S9 to St. Petersburg, 75, 127, 158
- Kündag, a demon, 59, 185, 224, 319-320  
 bound to the celestial sphere and slain, 177, 188  
 captured by Living Spirit, 177, 188  
 commander of the army of Ahri-man, 177, 185  
 description in Turkish Manichaean documents, 319-320  
 put to death, 319  
 supports the disk of the earth, 207, 306, 319
- Kuni: see Kündag.
- L
- Law, rejected by Mānī, 207
- Leading up to heaven of the released particles of Light, 40
- Le Coq, Turkologist, makes studies of actual Manichaean documents in Turkish, 4 n. 3
- Legends about formation of ten heavens and eight earths, Manichaean, 314-320, 317
- Life hereafter in Manichaeism, 15  
 imprisoned in body, 180, 181, 190
- Light, aspect of the Good Ruler of the Realm of Light, 8, 154, 333  
 domain of, 8  
 domain of, invaded by the Powers of Darkness, 9, 224, 255, 271  
 emission of, by the Archons, 244  
 imprisoned in inanimate and animate creations, 11, 179  
 robbed from Ormazd and swallowed by Kündag, 177, 187, 226 n. 18  
 separating of, from the sin in the Archons, 246  
 separation of, from darkness, 30, 31, 39, 40, 47, 177, 181, 199  
 sun, composed of, 31  
 Supreme, manifestations of, 8  
 synonymous with Spirit and Good, 7  
 within the earth, separated through plants, 179
- Light Air, intermediate region of the luminous domain, 8, 23, 276 n. 12
- Light Earth, 8, 23, 73  
 touched at every point by the Dark Earth, 24
- Light and darkness, final separation of, 177, 183  
 in immediate contiguity, 181, 200, 201  
 intermingling of, according to Mānī, 177, 183  
 separation of, retarded by copulation and birth of living creatures, 179, 191  
 two primordial and eternal Principles, 8, 177

- unlimitedness of, a Manichæan doctrine, 177, 183
  - Light Elements of Primal Man, devoured by powers of Darkness, 9, 226 n. 18
  - separated from the Primal Man, by the Mother of Life and Living Spirit, 263
  - Light Maiden, see Maiden of Light.
  - Light particles, imprisoned in body, 216
  - Living Spirit, as active agent in creation, 23, 288
    - commands three of his sons to kill and slay the Archons, 233
    - creates the heavens and the earths, 314, 315, 316
    - creates the world from the bodies of the Princes of Darkness, 289, 302 n. 18, 318
    - creative energy of, shown, 293
    - as Demiurge, 10, 23, 273, 288, 289
    - entry into non-luminous domain and beginning of the creative activity of, according to Chinese Manichæan treatise, 24, n. 3
    - evoked by the Great Bān, 229
    - evokes Five Sons, 229, 290, 296
    - gives right hand to the imprisoned Primal Man, 264
    - in Chinese Treatise, 293
    - in Turfan Pahlavi fragments, 291
    - in Turkish fragment, 292
    - initiating agent in each stage of the cosmogonic process, 292
    - made the Three Wheels, 238
    - plays the chief rôle in rescuing Primal Man, 257, 258, 259, 264, 290
    - relation to the Great Bān, 23 n. 1, 285
    - reveals his forms to the Sons of Darkness, 236
    - third figure of the second evocation by the Father of Light, 9, 229, 257, 278, 288-295
    - tucks up his robe in the tenfold heaven, 316
    - unites with Mother of Life in the rescue of Primal Man, 290, 293, 326
    - voice of, 229
    - work of, continues upward by successive stages, 25
  - Living waters, fountains of, 83, 86, 124
  - Lord of the Country, 307, 308
  - Lord of the Guardianship: see Lord of Protection.
  - Lord of the House, 307, 308
  - Lord of Protection, 307, 308
  - Lord of the Town, 307, 308
  - Lord of the Village, 307, 308
  - Love for the Godhead, doctrinal seal, 14, 332
  - Luminous Gods, five, 227 n. 19
- M
- Macrocosm, creation of, 10, 177, 188
  - man imitation of, 179, 190, 319
  - Maḥrnāmag, 'Hymn Book,' 27 n. 1, n. 2, 41, 102, 112, 265
  - Maiden of Light, associated with
    - Jesus and Vahman, 133, 134
    - with Jesus and the Great Manūḥmēd, 12, 277, 278
    - with Mithra, the Column of Light and the Manūḥmēd, 275
  - Majesties, four great, 154, 333
  - twelve, 194-195, 196, 241 n. 78, 333 n. 26
  - Man, has ability to separate light from darkness, 12
    - as microcosm an imitation of the visible macrocosm, 179, 190, 319
    - consists of body, soul and spirit, 13
    - formation of, 179, 190
  - Mānbēd (Atlas, Omophorus), bears world on his shoulders, 300, 302
  - commanding god over Earth Five, duties of, 32, 33, 34, 35, 51, 53, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 310

- holds up the earths, 301, 305, 306,  
309, 310  
keeping the North or Good Region,  
60  
kneels and bears the earths, 236,  
299, 300  
Son of the Living Spirit, evoked  
from his deliberation, 229, 297  
stands on the lowest Earth, 311  
supporting Earth Six, 72  
supports the burden of the eight-  
fold earths, 298, 299, 303, 304,  
305, 314  
Mānī, allusions to, in the polemical  
Zoroastrian Pahlavi Books, 203  
as a Burkhan or prophet, 196  
banished from Persia, 6  
chief points of life of, 5  
final messenger of truth, 12  
five qualities ascribed to, 196  
new teacher of the Good Religion,  
152  
Paraclete promised by Christ, 7, 12  
Persian by blood, 5  
physician of body and soul, 14  
put to death, 6  
regarded as the greatest deceiver by  
Zoroastrian controversialist in  
Shikand-Gūmānīg Vīzhār, 182  
religion of, distinctly and de-  
signedly a synthesis, 7  
representative of the first Envoy of  
Light, 257 n. 4  
taught the signs of the time  
supreme, 84, 86  
Manichaeas cosmological fragment,  
in Turfan Pahlavi, 22  
documents, actual discoveries of, 4  
documents, Chinese, 4  
documents, Iranian, 4  
documents, Turkish, 4  
fragments S9, S7, S8, translitera-  
tion and translation into English  
of, 78-86, 128-133, 162-163  
Manichaeism, disseminated westward  
and eastward, 6  
eclectic character of, 7  
factor in the religious life of Central  
and Eastern Asia, 5  
the first and most important of the  
two schismatic movements in  
Zoroastrianism, 3  
an offshoot of Zoroastrianism, 5  
parent of various heretical move-  
ments in Christianity, 5  
'Religion of Light,' 13  
'Religion of Purity,' 13  
terminology of, adapted to suit the  
environment, 164  
Mansions of Immortality, the sinless  
led to, 128, 132, 135  
see also Paradise.  
Manūhmēd, member of a fourth  
evocation, 12, 94, 275, 277, 278  
Mardinū, a village near the sire of  
the modern city of Baghdād,  
Mānī born in, 6  
Marriage, elect abstain from, 116, 212  
in Manichaeism, 205  
Massacre of higher Manichaean  
clergy, reference to, 159, 162  
Martān-farūkh, author of Shikand-  
Gūmānīg Vīzhār, 174  
Master, supreme head in Manichaean  
hierarchy, 15  
Masters in Manichaean hierarchy, 15,  
165  
Mastication of food in Manichaeism,  
252 n. 140  
Māzandarān, demons of 177, 186  
demons of, notorious from Zoro-  
astrian times, 186  
Māzandarāns, light of, discharged  
through their seed, 179, 191  
Mazdak, execution of, 161  
Iranian socialist, 161  
Mazdakites, persecution of, 160-161  
Men and mountains created from the  
flesh and bones of the Archons,  
according to Joannes Damas-  
cenus, 185-186, 318

- Menander Protector, Byzantine historian quoted, 169
- Meru: see Mountain Sumeru.
- Messenger: see Third Messenger.
- Metempsychosis, doctrine of, 14, 110
- Microcosm created by Dark Powers, 11, 179, 189
- Mihr: see Mithra.
- Mihryazd: see Sun God.
- Milky Way, the liberated light elements rise heavenward through, 13  
     participation of, in extracting the light mixed in darkness, 10, 237 n. 63
- Mithra, 11, 277  
     dwells in the Sun, 43  
     first member of the third triad, 275, 276  
     not to be identified with Nairyōsanha, 279, 283 n. 32
- Moats: see Three moats.
- Momastic idea in Manichaeism, borrowed from Buddhism, 14
- Monster, horrible, fought and vanquished by Adamas, 247  
     in the likeness of the King of Darkness, 247  
     produced from the sin fallen upon the moist earth, 247
- Moon, creation of, 10, 179, 188, 189, 289  
     formation of, 24, 31, 39, 43, 237  
     functions permanently in extracting the lost light, 10, 13, 179, 189  
     made of wind and water, 30, 31, 43
- Mother Goddess: see Mother of Living.
- Mother of Life: see Mother of Living.
- Mother of the Living, 170, 224 n. 9, 321-322  
     associated with the Friend of Light and the Living Spirit in rescuing the Primal Man, 258, 281  
     creates the ten heavens, 185, 234, 235 n. 49, 315, 316  
     descends to the Earth of Darkness, 232, 261-262  
     dwells in the Sun, 43  
     final action of, in rescuing Primal Man, 269  
     first evocation of Father of Light and Greatness, 9, 224, 256, 258  
     in Chinese Manichaean Treatise, 322, 329  
     a member of the first triad, 274, 276, 278, 279  
     personified under the name of Joyousness, 323-328  
     as the Radiant One, 330  
     united with the Living Spirit as leading characters in the rescue of Primal Man, 259, 263, 281, 290, 293, 326
- Mother of Pious: see Mother of Living.
- Mountain Sumeru, upon the surface of Earth Eight, creation of, 36, 37, 69, 294, 320
- Mountains, made from the bones of demons, 177, 185, 318
- Mouth, seal of the, 335
- Muhammadan writers, accounts of, on Manichaeism, 5
- Müller, F. W. K., Professor, deciphers and interprets Manichaean fragments found in Turfan, 4 n. 3, 22

## N

- Nahnahah, problematic designation of the Mother of Liying in the Fihrist, 328-331
- Nairyōsanha, angelic personage, closely associated with the divine fire in Zoroastrianism, 279, 283 n. 32
- Namrāel, mate of Ashaqlūn, 249
- Narēsaf: see Friend of Light.
- Nasāh, 'Pollution,' is bodily, 80, 85  
     made by the Evil Power, 77, 78, 79, 84, 90

Nebrōēl: see Namrāēl.  
 Neryosang, author of Pāzand-Sanskrit version of Shikand-Gūmānig Vīzhār, 174  
 New City, 243 n. 90  
 New Man, the change from the old man to; idea borrowed from St. Paul, 12  
 New Paradise: see Paradise.  
 New Realm, 243 n. 90, 286-287  
 Nḥšbt: see Crown-bearer.  
 North, Mother of Living and Ormazd appear from, 276  
 Number: see Sacred number.

## O

Oceans, created by the Living Spirit, 294  
 Ōhrmazd-dāt, Martān-farūkh son of, 174  
 Ōhrmīzd, divine avenger, 159  
   giving help to the soul or souls, 101, 104, 162, 163  
   sends the imprisoned soul of Primal Man down to Earth into the bodies of men, 79, 80, 85, 93, 100-104  
   will appear from the northern region of heaven, when the end of the world comes, 160, 287  
   see also Primal Man.  
 Old Man, 12  
 Omophorus: see Mānbēd.  
 Ophites, ten heavens recognized by, 317  
 Order, fourfold, of Zoroastrian state, 307  
 Outermost wall, 36, 37, 59  
 Overlord of Evil, corresponding to Ahriman, 9

## P

Padvākhtag: see Respondent.  
 Pāhragbēd: see Lord of Protection.  
 Paradise, 81, 112, 291

Paradise, New, 24, 33, 48, 243 n. 90, 286, 287  
*Pārāyīšn*, purification of the Light particles contaminated by Darkness, 32, 33, 46  
*Pārūd*, gross material which, separated from Light, sank down to the Dark Earth, 32, 33, 47  
 Patibilis: see Jesus.  
 Patience symbolizes Mānbēd, 312  
 Paulicians of Armenia and Asia Minor, heretics, 18  
   exercised influence upon Bulgaria, 19  
 Pentads, Mānī's fondness for, 317 n. 10  
 Perfect: see Elect.  
 Perfection, obtained only through a life of renunciation, 11-12  
 Petition, made to the Friend of Light and other Gods by the Five Angels, 278 n. 22, 281  
 Pity symbolizes the Custody of Splendor, 312  
 Planets, Seven, demoniacal powers fastened by the Living Spirit, 30, 31, 38  
 Plants from the hair of Kūnī, 177, 318  
   production from seed of Māzandarāns, 179, 191  
 Pole-star, Manichaeans turned towards in prayer, 60  
   symbolizing the extreme point upward of the primordial Light Earth, 60  
 Pollution: see *Nasāh*.  
 Power, aspect of the 'Good Ruler of the Realm of Light,' 8, 154, 333  
 Praise, 129, 131, 132, 151, 265  
   feature in Manichaean worship and hymnology, 141, 151  
 Prayer, Primal Man's, to the God-head, 228, 256  
 Prayers, Manichaean, 15  
 Primal Man (Ōhrmīzd), child of the God Zarvān, 257

- cut the roots of the five Dark Natures, 171, 258-259, 266, 267  
 encounter of, with Shumnu, 268  
 evoked by the Mother of Life, 224-225  
 evokes his Five Sons, 225  
 exploits of, after his rescue, 266  
 Father of the Luminous Elements, 303  
 first messenger, 279 n. 24  
 future liberator of souls, 256  
 identification of, with Ōhrmīzd, 93, 100, 101, 102, 170, 279  
 lament of, 257  
 locating the position of, amid the darkness, through the voice of the Living Spirit, 230, 261  
 not Adam, but a celestial prototype to foreshadow him, 9  
 panoply of, 144, 225 n. 12, 256, 272  
 panoply of, devoured by the demons of Darkness, 226 n. 18, 272  
 prayer of, to the Father of Greatness, 228, 256  
 present at Mānī's birth, 277 n. 18  
 prototype of Celestial Jesus, 304, 324 n. 10  
 prototype of mankind, 271  
 rescue of, 24 n. 3, 171, 232 n. 41, n. 43, 255-270  
 sent to do battle against the powers of Darkness, 9, 171, 256, 271  
 soul of Light, 256  
 soul of, prototype of the individual soul, 103-104, 257 n. 4, 266  
 soul of, robbed and imprisoned in pollution, 77, 79, 84, 95, 256, 288  
 splits the head of Shmnu (Ahriman) with an ax, 171, 269  
 summoned into existence, 9, 326  
 takes pity upon his own imprisoned soul, 100  
 takes share in the individual salvation of man, 104  
 third member of the first triad, 274, 276, 278, 279  
 Principle of Darkness extracts from the armor of Ōhrmīzd the soul and binds it within the pollution, 77, 79, 84  
 personifying the Evil Power, 77, 79, 84  
 Priscillianists of Spain, tinged by Manichaeism, 18  
 Prison, 79, 96  
 for poisonous mass, 36, 37, 65, 68, 72  
 Propagation of life, opposed by Manichaeism, 179, 190, 191, 198  
 Property, rejected by Mānī, 207, 213  
 Pure Wind, 291 n. 62, 293, 294  
 identification with the Living Spirit, 293
- R
- Rahē*, 'Vehicles,' 30, 31, 41-42  
 as 'camps' in Turkish Confession Prayer, 42  
 as Sun and Moon, 42  
 Rain, from the seed of Māzandarāns, 177, 179, 186, 191, 318  
 Rampart, erected by Auharmazd for protection of the sky, 201  
*Rāmraṭūk*h, etymology of, 324, 325, 328  
 Soghdian designation of Mother of Living, 323-325  
 Realm of Light: see Light.  
 Reason, a Glory of the Father of Greatness, 223  
 Adamas evoked from the Living Spirit's, 229, 297  
 Reckoning, demanded of the soul in the life hereafter, 125-126  
 survival of the familiar Zoroastrian doctrine, 125-126  
 Regeneration of the world, Zoroastrian conception, 209, 216  
 Regents of Darkness: see Archons.



- Religion, prayer for keeping pure and protecting, 130, 132, 144  
 'Religion of Purity,' 13  
 Respondent (*Padvākhtag*), 231, 259, 290  
   in the Chinese Treatise, 263  
   Mother of Living clothed with, 232, 262  
   personified, represents Primal Man, 262 n. 15  
   see also Appellant and Respondent.  
 Resurrection, 80, 85, 109  
   bodily, denied by Manichaeans, 110, 181, 184, 217  
   doctrine of, was a generally accepted tenet in early Zoroastrianism, 109-110  
 Reverence for Primal Man, doctrinal Manichaean seal, 14, 332  
 Rex Honoris: see Great King of Honor.  
 Right hand, Manichaeans give, when meeting each other, 265, 327 n. 17  
   sons of, 265 n. 26, 327 n. 17  
   symbolism of, in Manichaeism, 265, 327 n. 17  
 Rivers, created by the Living Spirit, 294  
 Roman Empire, Manichaeism spread to, 6, 17  
 Roots, men have, 304  
   of the Five Dark Natures, 171, 266
- S
- Sābhlā: see Mānbēd.  
 Sacred Number, Manichaean, 15  
 Sacred Numbers: see Five, Seven, Twelve, etc.  
 Saklas, putative father of Adam and Eve, 249 n. 117, 305 n. 27  
   name applied to Omophorus, 305  
 Salemann, C., reproduces and publishes the Manichaean fragments S9, S7 and S8, 75, 127, 158  
 Salvation of future souls, promise for, 79, 85, 103-104, 266  
 Sāṅkhya philosophy, the threefold distinction of body, soul and spirit, early tenet of, 13  
 Sapor II, Sasanian Emperor, 169  
 Scythianus, 287 n. 49  
 Seal of goodly concord, 80, 85  
 Seals, doctrinal, four, 14, 111, 331-334  
   ethical, three, 14, 111, 331, 334-336  
   Manichaean, 111, 331-337  
   seven, religious emblem in Manichaeism, 14, 331, 336  
   three, perhaps of Buddhistic origin, 111, 336  
 Servitors, three, sons of the Living Spirit, 233 n. 45, 242, 298 n. 9, 299  
 Seven, a symbolic number in Manichaean religion, 15  
 Sex, plays no rôle in the Manichaean conceptions of Celestial Beings, 9, 229 n. 24  
   work of the Evil One, 11  
 Shāhpūhr I, Sasanian king, banishes Mānī, 6, 17  
 Shan-mu: see Excellent Mother.  
 Shield of Light, 130, 132, 144, 145  
   held in the left hand of Adamas, 300  
 Shikand-Gūmānīg Vīzhār, transliteration and translation of, 176-181  
 Ships, of the sun and moon, 41-42, 237 n. 63, 242, 244  
   set in motion by the three Servitors, 242 n. 87, 243 n. 90, 299  
 Shmnu: see Ahriman.  
 Shoulder-Bearer: see Mānbēd.  
 Signs, twelve of the Zodiac, 193  
 Simplicius, Neoplatonic philosopher, 6th century, argues against dualists, 101  
 Sin, embodied as a Monster, 247 n. 108  
   fall of, upon the earth, 246  
   imprisoned in Archons, mixes with light, 245

- Skins of Archons, employed in forming the heavens, 317  
 sky overspread with, 317  
 Sky, constructed from the skins of the flayed demons, 177, 185, 290, 317, 318  
 Soghdian, portions of Manichaean literature written in, 5, 274, 323  
 Sons, five, of Darkness, 226  
   five, evoked by Primal Man (see also Elements), 225, 226, 227 n. 19, 274  
   of the Living Spirit, 229, 275, 296-313  
   of the Living Spirit evoked out of the five mental concepts, 296  
   of the Living Spirit, functions of, 235-236, 297-301  
   of the Living Spirit, fundamental doctrine in Mānī's teachings, 313  
   of the Living Spirit, hold the Realm in order, 308, 309  
   of the Living Spirit, in Chinese Treatise, 312  
   of the Living Spirit, in the Manichaean documents, 306  
   of the Living Spirit, in the Muhammadan sources, 305-306  
   of the Living Spirit, in Turfan fragments, 307  
   of the Living Spirit, in the writings of Christian authors, 296-305  
   of the Living Spirit, order of, in Christian sources, 308  
   of the Living Spirit, order of, in Turfan Pahlavi texts, 308  
   of the Living Spirit, collaborate in maintaining the order of universe, 300  
   of the Living Spirit, help to keep the demons imprisoned, 294  
   of the Living Spirit, sun and moon set in rotation by three, 242, 299  
   of Living Spirit, three commanded to kill and flay the Archons, 233, 298
- Soul, 45  
   believing in Ōhrmīzd, is raised to Heaven, 77  
   destiny of, 15  
   imprisoned in the body, 257 n. 4  
   imprisoned in body, lament of, 257 n. 4  
   mocked by demons in Zoroastrianism, 98, 99  
   sent by divine intention, 100-101  
   tormented by Ahriman, 98  
   tormented by demons, 79, 84, 98  
 Souls, imprisoned, appeal to Ōhrmīzd, 104  
 South, Great Architect appears from, 286, 287  
   Jesus, the Light Maiden and the Great Manūhmēd appear from, 277  
 Spear, held in the right hand of Adamas, 300  
   Of Ōhrmīzd, 130, 132, 145, 162, 163, 170  
 Spendārmāt, 276  
 Spirit: see Living Spirit.  
 Spirit of Power: see Living Spirit.  
 Spiritus Vivens: see Living Spirit.  
 Splenditenens: see Custody of Splendor.  
 Stages, in the action of the restoration of Primal Man, first, 255, 256  
   second, 256  
   third, 262  
 Stars, creation of, 10, 294 n. 75  
   'more than a thousand,' creation of, 237  
 Sumeru: see Mountain Sumeru.  
 Summit of Light, 30, 31  
 Sun, creation of, 10, 179, 188, 289  
   formation of, 24, 31, 39, 43, 237  
   functions permanently in extracting the lost light, 10, 13, 179, 189  
   made of fire and light, 30, 31, 43  
 Sun God, 32, 33, 45-46, 293  
   clothed with three coverings, the

- wind, water and fire, 32, 33, 45-46
- Sun and Moon, emblems of the kingly glory of the Sasanids, 159, 169  
see also Ships of the Sun and Moon.
- Supplications, Manichaeism, 265
- Supporter: see Mānbēd.
- Supreme God, the first member of the first triad, 274
- Swallowing of the light particles of the soul by the Powers of Darkness, 10, 94, 177, 187, 226 n. 18
- Symbolic numbers, Manichaeism, 15
- T
- Taking animal life, injunction against, incumbent upon the Hearers, 199
- Teachers, Manichaeism, massacred, 162, 163, 164  
see also Masters.
- Temples, Manichaeism, absence in the West, 15  
ruins of, in Central Asia, 14
- Ten Commandments, required to be observed by Manichaeism, 14, 335-336
- Ten Heavens, 314-320  
allusions to, 314-320  
constructed by Envoy of Light, 184  
creation of, 24 n. 1, 290, 294, 315  
made by the Mother of the Living from the skins of the flayed Archons, 185, 234 n. 48, 235 n. 49, 290, 315, 317
- Tenfold Heaven: see Ten Heavens.
- Terebinthus, 287 n. 49
- Terminology, Christian, adapted by Manichaeism, 102
- Theophylactus, writes on Khusrau II, 169
- Theophylactus, Patriarch of Constantinople, 287 n. 49
- Third Messenger, embodies certain traits of Mithra, 11, 240 n. 77  
evocation of, 11, 240, 286 n. 44  
gives orders to the Great Bān to build the new Earth, 242-243  
helps in reducing the demoniacal influence of the dark powers, 272  
reveals his forms as male and female, 244  
see also Mithra.
- 'Third Time' after universal conflagration of 1468 years, 16
- Thought, seal of, 335  
a Glory of the Father of Greatness, 223  
the King of Glory evoked from the Living Spirit's, 229, 297
- Thousand and four hundred and sixty-eight years, universal conflagration lasts, 16, 217
- Three columns on Earth Five, 32, 33-35, 72
- Three coverings, formed of the wind, water and fire to clothe the Sun God, 32, 33, 46  
identified with the Three Garments in the Chinese Manichaeism Treatise, 46-47
- Three ethical seals, 14, 111, 331, 334-336
- Three moats on Earth Six, 34, 35, 54, 55, 72
- Three poisonous bonds, 56
- Three poisonous sprouts, 56
- Three Thrones, 30, 31, 43  
in the Moon, occupied by Jesus, the Light Maiden, and the Manūhmēd, 45  
in the Sun, belong to Mīhr, the Mother of Life, and the Living Spirit, 43
- Three Times, a second cardinal doctrine of Manichaeism, 8, 177, 183, 334
- Three 'wheels' of wind, fire and

- water, construction of, 10, 62,  
 238-240, 299  
 set in motion by the King of Glory,  
 300, 310, 311  
 Ti-tsang: see Mānbēd.  
 Tibet, Mani's preachings in, 6  
 Time, Third: see Third Time.  
 Titan figures burdened down by  
 mountains, 319-320  
 Tree, Jesus hanging on every, 12, 252  
 n. 140  
 of Life, Adam tastes of, 253  
 Trees, buds of, devoured by foetuses  
 of the Daughters of Darkness,  
 248  
 of death and life, five kinds, origin  
 of, 247 n. 112  
 five, from sin fallen upon dry earth,  
 247  
 five, produced from the seed of  
 Archons, 197  
 production from seed of Māzan-  
 darāns, 179, 191  
 Triad, fourth, 277 n. 16  
 Manichaean, consisting of Jesus,  
 the Maiden, and Vahman, 133,  
 134  
 Triads, Manichaean, exhibit traces of  
 Babylonian influence, 271 n. 1  
 three, scheme of, 279  
 Trinity, Living Spirit united in, with  
 Father of Light and Son of Light,  
 291, 294  
 Tsing-fong: see Living Spirit.  
 Turfān fragments, Manichaean, de-  
 tailed study of, 21-172  
 method of transliterating, 26  
 Oasis of, actual Manichaean docu-  
 ments found in, 4, 23  
 Turkistān, Chinese, Mānī's preaching  
 in, 6  
 Twelve Gates, matching the Gates of  
 the Heavens, 25, 30, 31, 34, 35,  
 43, 54, 72  
 Glorious Daughters: see Daughters.  
 hells, construction of, 36, 37, 65, 72  
 symbolic number in Manichaean  
 religion, 15  
 Two Principles, commingled in a  
 universal conflict, in the present  
 age, 8  
 constitution of, 8  
 each independent and separate 8  
 existence of, fundamental tenet of  
 the faith, 7, 222, 334  
 wholly separate in the first Age, 8
- U
- Union, mystic, in Manichaeism, 232  
 n. 39
- V
- Vahman, in Turkish texts, 134  
 luminous, 131, 132, 134, 153  
 name of, associated with Avestan  
 Vohu Manah, 133, 134  
 receiving the souls of the just into  
 Heaven, 134  
 Vahmanān, representing the triad of  
 Vahman, Jesus and the Virgin of  
 Light, 133  
 Vahmans of Light, 128, 132, 133, 134  
 Vegetable life, from the seed of  
 Archons, 11  
 origin of, 179, 247 n. 112  
 Vehicles, two light, creation of, 30, 31,  
 41-42  
 Venom of Archons, 240, 299  
 of the Sons of Darkness injures  
 the five Luminous Gods, 227-228  
 Victory, complete, of Light over  
 Darkness, 8, 160  
 Vīmand: see Border.  
 Virgins, twelve, 195, 241  
 twelve, attributes of, 241  
 see also Daughters of Time.  
 Visbēd: see Lord of the Village.  
 Vivification, 78, 84, 86  
 'Treasure of,' book by Mānī, 87  
 Vohu Manah, chief of the Amesha  
 Spentas in Zoroastrianism, 133

Voice of Living Spirit, image of, 229  
 n. 28, 261  
 a courier to locate the position of  
 Primal Man in the Land of Dark-  
 ness, 230, 261  
 identified with the Appellant, 229  
 n. 27, 259  
 like a sharp sword, 229, 261

## W

Wādzhiwantag: see Living Spirit.  
 Wall, around Earth Eight, 36, 37, 60,  
 63, 72  
 • outermost, 32, 33, 35, 51, 59, 63, 72  
 within Earth Five, across east,  
 south and west, 32, 33, 35, 53, 63,  
 72  
 Walls: see Four walls.  
 Walls, five, of the Sun and Moon, 30,  
 31, 63  
 War, Mānī's teaching strongly op-  
 posed to, 14  
 Water, as a covering for the Sun God,  
 33  
 door for leading up, 37  
 Moon composed of wind and, 30, 31  
 Water of life, 124  
 West, Friend of Light, the Great  
 Bān and the Living Spirit  
 appear from, 276  
 Living Spirit appears from when  
 the end of the world comes to  
 pass, 286, 291  
 Mithra comes from, 287  
 Wheel, revolving of the Zodiac, 294  
 see also Three Wheels.  
 Wife, choice of, in Manichaeism, 205  
 Wind, as a covering for the Sun God,  
 33  
 door for leading up, 37  
 Wind and water, the moon made of,  
 30, 31, 43  
 Wind-raising God, name applied to  
 the Great King of Honor, 297 n.  
 4, 309, 310, 311

Wisdom, aspect of the Good Ruler of  
 the Realm of Light, 8, 154, 333  
 symbolizes King of Glory, 312  
 Women, received into the order of the  
 Elect, 13  
 World, beginning of, according to  
 Mānī, 221  
 bodily-formation of Ahriman, 177,  
 181, 184, 198, 318  
 destruction of, 181, 199, 209  
 disk upon the column of the fiend  
 Kündag, according to Mānī, 59,  
 207, 306, 319  
 end of, 121  
 maintained by Ahriman, 181, 199  
 Worship, Manichaeism, form of, 15

## X

*Xūrmuzta*: see Ōhrmīzd.  
*Xrōštag*: see Appellant.

## Y

Yasan, the Master of Omens, 225 n.  
 13  
 Yīšō: see Jesus.

## Z

*Zamān*, 'Time,' 81, 114, 115  
*Zandbēd*: see Lord of the Town.  
*Zarvān*, 179, 194 n. 2  
 as Father God of Light, 8, 154, 169,  
 324  
 splendor of, shared by his fivefold  
 Realms or Aeons, 8  
*Zēn*, 'armor,' Primal Man armed  
 with, 79, 84, 93  
*Zēndān*: see Prison.  
*Zeph*: see Ether.  
 Zodiac, twelve signs of, 193  
 revolving wheel of, 294  
 Zodiacal constellations, medium in  
 extracting the lost light, 10, 237  
 n. 63  
 Zoroaster, acknowledged by Mānī, 7  
 Zoroastrian terms, adaptation of, 102,  
 165



## II. INDEX OF PASSAGES

### PASSAGES CITED

- |                   |            |
|-------------------|------------|
| 1. Turfan Pahlavi | 7. Chinese |
| 2. Book Pahlavi   | 8. Syriac  |
| 3. Pāzand         | 9. Arabic  |
| 4. Soghdian       | 10. Greek  |
| 5. Avestan        | 11. Latin  |
| 6. Turkish        |            |

### TURFAN PAHLAVI

	Page		Page
Sm., Manichaica 3, 18 . . .	68	4, p. 3, " 17 . . .	96
3, 36 . . .	108	4, p. 5, " 4-5 . . .	144
3-4, 34, 39 . . .	65, 68	4, p. 5, " 16 . . .	156
3-4, 12, 39 . . .	86	4, p. 5, " 21 . . .	147
3-4, 35 . . .	189	4, p. 5, " 22 . . .	149
3-4, 36 . . .	212	4, p. 7, " 2 . . .	144
3-4, 37 . . .	172	4, p. 7, " 3 . . .	140, 144
3-4, 46, n. 29. . .	189	4, p. 7, " 5 . . .	117
3-4, 48 . . .	155	4, p. 7, " 19 . . .	140
3-4, 48, n. 8. . .	189	4, p. 8, " 4 . . .	155
4, 35 . . .	90	4, p. 8, " 11 . . .	135
4, 42 . . .	92	4, p. 8, " 12 . . .	155
4, 39 . . .	114	4, p. 8, " 18 . . .	140
4, 41 . . .	99	4a, " 18 . . .	273
Müller, Handschriften-Reste		4b, " 9 . . .	171
1, p. 350, 351 . . .	138	4b, " 9-11 . . .	251 n. 131
2, p. 6, 1 . . .	142	4d, " 8 . . .	322 n. 6
2, p. 6, 2 . . .	138	4d, " 9 . . .	120
2, p. 98-99 . . .	91	4e, " 23 . . .	265 n. 26
2, p. 12 . . .	170	4f, " 14 . . .	265 n. 26
2, p. 47 . . .	170		327 n. 17
M. 1, 2. 2 . . .	138	4f, " 19 . . .	292
1, 2. 5-6 . . .	134	7 . . .	257
1, 3. . .	156	7b . . .	147
2 . . .	101, 104, 147, 277, 278, 283	10v, 21-22. . .	277 n. 18
3, 12. . .	52	14 . . .	92, 194
3v, 13 . . .	148	17e . . .	152
4, p. 1, line 15 . . .	118	17g . . .	113
4, p. 2, " 6 . . .	114	17h, 1 . . .	112
4, p. 3, " 9 . . .	136	17h, 6 . . .	154
4, p. 3, " 11 . . .	147		

	Page		Page
M. 17r, 13.	139	98a, 1	237 n. 63
17v, 5-8	108	98a, 1-2	186
18r, 7	109	98a, 2-4	233 n. 45
20d, 5	140	98a, 4 n. 5	89
20d, 7	156	98a, 7	200
28, 2. 94-95	12 n. 13	98a, 7 n. 9	259
28r, 6-7	149	98a, 8	112
32r, 4	171, 231 n. 36	98a, 16, 22	150
32r, 6-7	111, 335	98b, 3	238 n. 65, 240 n. 72
32r, 8	145	98b, 5-6	243 n. 19, 287 n. 46
32v, 1	280 n. 25	98b, 7 n. 35	264
32v, 5	109	98b, 19-20	310 n. 48
32v, 9-10	109	98d, 16	114
33	269 n. 36	99, p. 3, line 24	96
33, 11	234 n. 48, 315	99c, 14	201
34	87, 195	99c, 17-25	310, 311
34, 5	87	99 c-d	59
38v, 7-9	110	99d, 1-4	310-311
40r, 4	111	99d, 4, 12	188
43, 5	187	99d, 18	145
43r, 5	155	99d, 22	95
43r, 6	134, 146	99d, 23	228 n. 20
43v, 5	156	99e	137
43v, 8	142	102r, 6, 8, 12, 15, 20	156
46, line 19	292 n. 65	102r, 14	87
47v, " 8, 9	291	102v, 2, 5	138
64a, 2	137	133	92
64v, 3	152, 153	171r, 12	140
64v, 9	109	172, p. I v, 8	139
74, 6	67	172, 1.13r	322 n. 6
74r, 15	134	172r, 7-8	153
74v, 6	117	172r, 13-14	153
74v, 18	112	172r, 13-18	323
75v, 5	111	172r, 17-18	325 n. 12
76v, 16	135	172v, 11	291 n. 63
79c, 14-15	154	173, 1-2	103
83, 17	170	176r, 1	126
97a, 19	52	176r, 12	134
97a, 22	70	177r, 3, 13, 20	58
97b, 10	152	177r, 3	89
97d, 5, 8	183	177r, 17	142
97d, 7, 9	97	177v, 8, 10	109
97d, 18	44, 150	309	170
98-99	22-73	309, line 3	222 n. 6
98, 9	29	311r, 5-7	110



	Page		Page
M. 311r, 16 . . . . .	136	554r, 4, 5 . . . . .	109
311v, 5-7 . . . . .	110	554r, 6. . . . .	120
311v, 17 . . . . .	137	583 . . . . .	160
324, 18 . . . . .	113	627 . . . . .	168
369v, 1, 10 . . . . .	* 171	730v, 9. . . . .	138
470 . . . . .	275, n. 11a, 286	730v, 11 . . . . .	156
470a, 9. . . . .	138	731v, 8. . . . .	154
470a, 18 . . . . .	243 n. 90	733v, 5. . . . .	146
470r, 8, 21 . . . . .	148	733v, 13, 16, 32 . . . . .	29
470r, 12, 19 . . . . .	120	733v, 14 . . . . .	152
470r, 13 . . . . .	280 n. 25	801, 1. . . . .	169
470r, 13-22 . . . . .	287 n. 46	801, 5-6 . . . . .	335
470r, 13-24 . . . . .	160	855 . . . . .	274 n. 7a
470r, 14-15 . . . . .	280	Mahrnāmag, 28, 41, 88, 90, 102-103, 108, 112, 113, 115, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 124, 125, 135, 138, 139, 140, 141, 143, 151, 152, 153, 154, 156, 194 n. 1, 251 n. 129, 265.	
470v, 2, [3], 9 . . . . .	148		
470v, 13 . . . . .	139	S. 7 . . . . .	127-157
472, 3. . . . .	67	7a, 10 . . . . .	110
472, 7. . . . .	201	7a, 11 . . . . .	96
472, 9. . . . .	69	7a, 28 . . . . .	96
472a, 11-15 . . . . .	308, 309	7b, 16 . . . . .	114
472r, 16 . . . . .	149	7c, 8. . . . .	96
472v, 1-9 . . . . .	309-310	7c, 9. . . . .	170
472v, 4-5 . . . . .	239 nn. 67, 69	7d, 13 . . . . .	332
472v, 8. . . . .	320	8. . . . .	158-172
472v, 10 . . . . .	120	8b, 4. . . . .	209
473b, v, 5. . . . .	124	8b, 2-3 . . . . .	145
473c(b) . . . . .	308, 309	8b, 3. . . . .	93, 100, 187
475a, 1-15. . . . .	122	8b, 4. . . . .	147
475r, 20 . . . . .	170	8v, b6, 9 . . . . .	138
475v, 15 . . . . .	96	9. . . . .	75-126
477r, 11 . . . . .	152	9a, 2. . . . .	217
477v, 8. . . . .	148	9a, 3. . . . .	198
482v, 9-12. . . . .	311	9a, 11 . 152, 225 n. 12, 236 n. 57	
482v, 10-12 . . . . .	53	9a, 11-12 . . . . .	170
482v, 12-13 . . . . .	287 n. 46	9a, 13 . . . . .	181
482v, 12-14 . . . . .	243 n. 90	9a, 16-20 . . . . .	228 n. 22
543r, 4. . . . .	152	9a, 20, d12 . . . . .	67
543r, 7. . . . .	134	9a, 21-26 . . . . .	259
543r, 9. . . . .	137	9a, 22-23 . . . . .	190
544. . . . .	68	9a, 31 . . . . .	187
544r, 12 . . . . .	156	9a, 31-34 . . . . .	256 n. 3
544v, 1, 4 . . . . .	156		
551r, 3. . . . .	89		
551r, 6. . . . .	147		
554, 6. . . . .	187		

	Page		Page
S. 9 recto, a 1, b 30 . . .	272 n. 2	12 . . . . .	97
9 recto, a 14-22 . . . . .	216	12, b 19 . . . . .	172
9b, 1 . . . . .	48	12, b 34 . . . . .	146
9b, 3 . . . . .	251 n. 134	12, b 40-43 . . . . .	94
9b, 15-16 . . . . .	217	12c, 26, 28, 38, 40 . . . . .	124
9b, 16 . . . . .	70	12c, 27, 33 . . . . .	156
9b, 17 . . . . .	138	13a, 4 . . . . .	120
9b, 23 . . . . .	151	13b, 5 . . . . .	148
9b, 24 . . . . .	151	13b, 8 . . . . .	146
9b, 27 . . . . .	140	13v, b, 7 . . . . .	134
9 recto, b, lines 19-23 . . . . .	335	14a, 6 . . . . .	148
9c, 2 . . . . .	136, 137	17a, 1 . . . . .	148
9c, 23 . . . . .	172	31a, 7 . . . . .	138
9c, 27 . . . . .	70	34a, 3 . . . . .	172
9c, 30-34 . . . . .	160	37a, 2-3 . . . . .	149
9c, 31 . . . . .	146	33b, 2, 3, 4 . . . . .	138
9d, 1 . . . . .	139	34b, 3 . . . . .	97
9d, 1-34 . . . . .	160	35b, 2 . . . . .	147
10, b 3 . . . . .	138		

## BOOK PAHLAVI

Dēnkart 3. 199 . . . . .	208, 210	Ardā Virāf 1. 15 . . . . .	138
3. 199. 13 . . . . .	216	50. 6 . . . . .	200
3. 200 . . . . .	203-217	99. 2 . . . . .	148
3. 200. 1 n. 6 . . . . .	183	Bundahishn 1. 4, 5 . . . . .	201
3. 200. 5 n. 1, 2 . . . . .	198	3. 26 . . . . .	201
3. 200. 7 n. 5 . . . . .	184	6. 2, 3 . . . . .	201
3. 200. 8 . . . . .	59, 306, 319	12. 9 . . . . .	70
3. 200. 8 n. 1 . . . . .	184	12. 31 . . . . .	320 n. 19
3. 200. 8 n. 2 . . . . .	183, 184	28. 42 . . . . .	214
3. 200. 8 n. 4 . . . . .	185, 188	29. 8-9 . . . . .	320 n. 19
3. 200. 12 n. 3 . . . . .	190	Zāt-sparam 1. 1 . . . . .	201
3. 200. 13 n. 3 . . . . .	110	1. 4 . . . . .	200
3. 200. 13 n. 3, 8 . . . . .	199	1. 22 . . . . .	242 n. 87
3. 202 . . . . .	208, 209	2. 1 . . . . .	200
4. 28 . . . . .	161	5. 1 . . . . .	201
5. 3 . . . . .	214	5. 1-2 . . . . .	52
8. 38. 44 . . . . .	61	Hadhōkht Nask-Rivāyat	
9. 4. 7 . . . . .	166	2. 3. 37 . . . . .	148
9. 30. 5 . . . . .	216	Manuschihr, Epistles 1. 6. 5 . . . . .	170
9. 39. 13 . . . . .	209	Shāyist nē-Shāyist 2. 119 . . . . .	89
Dātastān i Mēnūk i Khrat		Iranian Bund. p. 189, lines 8-11 . . . . .	186
7. 23. 24 . . . . .	98		

## PĀZAND

	Page		Page
Shikand-Gümānig Vīzhār		16. 10-20 . . . . .	214
4. 76 . . . . .	213	16. 16-17 . . . . .	226 n. 18
4. 89 . . . . .	213	16. 17, 30 . . . . .	94
10. 58 . . . . .	182	16. 19 . . . . .	33 n. 45
10. 58-60 . . . . .	182	16. 22 . . . . .	46, 226 n. 18
10. 59 . . . . .	182	16. 31 . . . . .	241 n. 78
16. 1-52 . . . . .	174-201	16. 31-34 . . . . .	244 n. 33
16. 4 . . . . .	95	16. 48-50 . . . . .	216, 217
16. 4 n. 7 . . . . .	214	16. 50 . . . . .	110
16. 8 . . . . .	213-214	16. 53 . . . . .	209
16. 8-14 . . . . .	318	16. 89 . . . . .	213

## SOGHDIAN

M. 14. 1 . . . . .	91	Müller 2. p. 97 . . . . .	315
583 . . . . .	274-277, 283, 287 n. 47		

## AVESTAN

Vd. 2. 25f. . . . .	66	19. 31 (192) . . . . .	196
3. 4, 23-35 . . . . .	198	19. 41 . . . . .	214
7. 14 . . . . .	49	19. 138 . . . . .	214
9. 30 . . . . .	49	Ys. 31. 20 . . . . .	98
11. 9, 12 . . . . .	214	46. 8 . . . . .	66
11. 26, 35 . . . . .	214	57. 18 . . . . .	146
18. 30f. . . . .	29	Yt. 14. 62 . . . . .	146

## TURKISH

Khuastuanift lines 33. . . . .	226 n. 16	lines 319-321 . . . . .	336 n. 34
" 54-56 . . . . .	199	" 320-321 . . . . .	111, 335
" 90 . . . . .	199	section 3B . . . . .	315
" 120 . . . . .	199	Türkische Manichaica 25, 42, 44, 61,	
" 158-159 . . . . .	183	63, 93, 106, 107, 134, 137, 139,	
" 169-170 . . . . .	199	145, 154, 171, 185, 196, 196 n. 5,	
" 177-183 . . . . .	111, 332	226 n. 16, 231 n. 36, 232 n. 41,	
* " 178 . . . . .	117	234 nn. 45, 48, 237 n. 63, 247 n.	
" 193-195 . . . . .	336 n. 35	109, 262, 268, 269 n. 35, 293 nn.	
" 223-224 . . . . .	44	68-72, 311-312, 316, 320, 322 n.	
" 249-251 . . . . .	116	7, 326 n. 14, 330, 336 n. 35	

## CHINESE

## Un Traité Manichéen.

	Page		Page
J A 1911,		526-527 . . . . .	188, 190
502 n. 3 . . . . .	183	528-529 . . . . .	107
507 . . . . .	93	528-530 . . . . .	190
510-512 . . . . .	263, 264 n. 25	530 mid. . . . .	107
510-514 . . . . .	326 n. 14	530 . . . . .	228 n. 21, 263 n. 22
510-523 . . . . .	25	531 . . . . .	228 n. 21, 294
510 n. 4 . . . . .	294	532 n. 2 . . . . .	323 n. 8
511 . . . . .	322 n. 8	533 . . . . .	107, 294
511 n. 1 . . . . .	329 n. 20	533 n. 3 . . . . .	65
512 . . . . .	91, 93, 227 n. 19	536 . . . . .	171, 267
512 n. 1 . . . . .	264 n. 24	537 top . . . . .	107
513 n. 1 . . . . .	91, 93	542 n. 2 . . . . .	194 n. 2
514 . . . . .	48, 227 n. 19, 245 n. 97, 98	543 . . . . .	93
514-515 . . . . .	184	543 n. 2 . . . . .	195
514-516 . . . . .	25, 234 n. 48, 316	544 n. 1 . . . . .	91, 92
515 . . . . .	227 n. 19, 323 n. 8	546 . . . . .	224 n. 7a
515-519 . . . . .	10	549 . . . . .	316
515-528 . . . . .	100	549 n. 2 . . . . .	296 n. 3
516 . . . . .	47	549 n. 5 . . . . .	53, 56
516-517 . . . . .	294	549-550 . . . . .	312
516 n. 1 . . . . .	62	550 n. 1 . . . . .	62
516-552 . . . . .	42	552 . . . . .	263 n. 22
517 . . . . .	55	556 n. 2 . . . . .	294
517 n. 2 . . . . .	55	557 n. 2 . . . . .	294
518-519 . . . . .	294	559 49, 226 n. 16, 227 n. 19, 267	
519 . . . . .	226 n. 16	560 . . . . .	171, 267
519-521 . . . . .	195	560-563 . . . . .	248 n. 112
520 . . . . .	263, 264 n. 25	561 . . . . .	267
521 n. 1 . . . . .	92, 231 n. 36	563 . . . . .	243 n. 90
522 . . . . .	91, 227 n. 19	565 n. 5 . . . . .	194
523 . . . . .	107, 263 n. 22	566 n. 1 . . . . .	195
523-527 . . . . .	11	566 n. 5 . . . . .	195
524 . . . . .	108	567 . . . . .	93, 195, 241 n. 78
525 . . . . .	323 n. 8	568-569 n. 3 . . . . .	195, 241 n. 78
525-527 . . . . .	319	584 . . . . .	195
526 . . . . .	55		
526 top . . . . .	107	Chinese Hymn in praise of Jesus, 140,	
526 n. 2 . . . . .	184	150, 196, 267, 268	
526 n. 4 . . . . .	246 n. 103		

## SYRIAC

Page	Page
bar Khoni, Scholia 41, 46, 47, 49, 53, 61, 62, 68, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 144, 184, 185, 187, 188, 193, 194 n. 2, 195, 197, 214, 221-254, 256, 259 n. 9, 260, 260 n. 2, 261, 272, 276 n. 12, 283, 284, 286 n. 43, 290, 296, 298-299, 315, 317, 321, 326 Ephraim Syrus 51, 64, 89, 94, 184,	185, 187, 189, 200, 201, 226 n. 17, 283 n. 34, 284, 285, 290 n. 57, 303, 317, 318, 319 Severus of Antioch . . . . 51 Titus of Bostra, I. 17 . . . . 304 I. 17 (p. 9) 226 n. 17 I. 19 (p. 11) . . . . 187

## ARABIC

an-Nadim, Fihrist 11, 17, 40, 43, 52, 62, 68, 87, 94, 108, 111, 115, 120, 145, 151, 154, 156, 165, 170, 184, 187, 190, 195, 226 n. 18, 233 n. 45, 234 n. 48, 247 n. 106, 251 n. 134, 258, 259, 260 n. 10, 266, 280- 281, 281 n. 26, 282 n. 32, 285-	286, 290, 291, 305-306, 315, 322, 324 n. 10, 325, 326, 328, 329, 333, 334, 335 Albirūnī, Chronology . . . . 87 Shahrastānī . . . . 43, 201, 306 al-Ya'qūbī . . . . . 69 al-Murtaḍā . . . . 200, 201, 306
---	--

## GREEK

Hegemonius, Acta Archelaj 1. 3 . . . . . 40 7. 3 . . . . . 321 n. 3 7. 4 . . . 144, 288 n. 52, 226 n. 18 7. 4-5 . . . 256, 264, 327 n. 17 7. 10 . . . . . 187 8. 1 . . . 40, 233 n. 45, 234 n. 48, 288 n. 52, 314 8. 2 . . . . . 303 8. 4 . . . . . 288 n. 52 8. 4. 7 . . . . . 304 9. 1-5 . . . . . 304 10. 5 . . . . . 65 10. 10 . . . . . 144 10. 11 . . . . . 265 n. 27 10. (28).2 . . . . . 144 11. 2 . . . . . 65 13. 1 . . . . . 234 n. 48 13. 21 . . . . . 195 15. 13 . . . . . 144 18. 2 . . . . . 108	19. 11 . . . . . 108 20. 5 . . . . . 108 21. 3 . . . . . 108 21. 13 . . . . . 201 27. (24) . . . . . 51 59. (50).5 . . . . . 294 n. 81 Alexander of Lycopolis, Contra Manichaei Opiniones 3. 6 . . . . . 40, 47 6. 9 . . . . . 87 ch. 3 . . . 237 n. 63, 288, 289 n. 53 ch. 4 . . . . . 289 n. 53 Irenaeus, Contra Haereses 1. 30. 2 . . . . . 321 n. 3 Timotheus of Constantinople . 305 Simplicius, Commenti in Epictet. Enchiridion . . . . . 54, 101 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Haeret. Fabul. Compendium I. 26 226 n. 17
---	---

	Page		Page
Epiphanius, De Haeresibus 66.		Theophylactus, Hist. 4. 8 . . .	169
32 . . . . .	317	Greek Formula of Abjuration 186,	
Epiphanius, De Haeresibus, 26.		223 n. 5, 225 n. 13, 287 n. 49,	
10 . . . . .	321 n. 3	289, 305, 319, 332	
Joannes Damascenus, Contra		Titus <sup>9</sup> of Bostra 1. 9-11 . . .	51
Manichaeos, 29 end. . .	318	1. 17 . . . . .	304
Joannes Damascenus, Contra		1. 17 (p. 9) 226 n. 17	
Manichaeos, 29 . . . .	185	1. 19 (p. 11) . . .	187

## LATIN

Augustine, Saint		19. 21 . . . . .	314 n. 1
1. Contra Faustum		4. Contra Epistulam Mani-	
1. 15. ch. 5 . . . . .	195	chaei quam vocant Funda-	
6. 8 . . . . .	242 n. 87, 248 n. 115	damenti: see 3.	
13. 6 . . . . .	314	12. 13 . . . . .	265 n. 26
13. 18 . . . . .	187, 226 n. 18	5. De Haeresibus	
15. 5 . . . . .	236 n. 57, 300, 314	46. lines 45-46 . . . . .	43
15. 6 . . . . .	53, 58, 112, 239 n. 67, 247	ch. 46 . . . . .	165
n. 109, 289-290, 300		6. De Moribus Manichaeorum	
20. 1 . . . . .	289	9. 14. . . . .	48, 248 n. 116
20. 2 . . . . .	253 n. 140	9. 14, 18. . . . .	248 n. 115
20. 9 . . . . .	23, 112, 185, 289, 301, 318	10. 19 . . . . .	334 n. 29
20. 10 . . . . .	239 n. 67, 289, 300-301	11-19* (§ 20-73) . . . . .	334 n. 29
20. 11 . . . . .	253 n. 140, 302	17-61 . . . . .	248 n. 115
20. 13 . . . . .	253 n. 140	19. 73 . . . . .	252 n. 137
32. 19 . . . . .	234 n. 48, 302, 314	7. De Natura Boni	
2. Contra Fortunatum		44. 1 . . . . .	197
2. 26-27 . . . . .	100	8. Opus imperfectum contra	
3. Contra Epistulam Funda-		Julianum	
menti		3 ch. 186, 187; 172, 175, 176. .	106
11. 13 . . . . .	327 n. 17	Evodius, De Fide, 34. . . . .	253 n. 140
13. . . . .	195		

# INDEX III

## INDEX OF WORDS

- |                   |             |
|-------------------|-------------|
| 1. Turfan Pahlavi | 8. Sanskrit |
| 2. Book Pahlavi   | 9. Turkish  |
| 3. Pāzand         | 10. Chinese |
| 4. New Persian    | 11. Syriac  |
| 5. Soghdian       | 12. Arabic  |
| 6. Avestan        | 13. Greek   |
| 7. Old Persian    | 14. Latin   |

### TURFAN PAHLAVI

- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <i>āb</i> 36, 61   | <i>aḥrāmēd</i> 239                    |
| <i>ābāf</i> 32, 52   | <i>Aḥramēn</i> 106, 130, 149          |
| <i>abar</i> 32, 34, 36, 53, 56, 58, 59, 60, 69,<br>81, 103, 115, 287 | <i>aḥrāmīšn</i> 40, 189               |
| <i>abaragīhāh</i> 36, 60   | <i>aḥrāpt</i> 31, 40, 51              |
| <i>ābaxš-</i> 102  | <i>āhrēvar</i> 36, 56, 63, 66, 67     |
| <i>abaxšāyad</i> 79, 102   | <i>aḥ</i> 68                          |
| <i>ābētag</i> 135  | <i>aḥ ham pārāyišn</i> 32, 46         |
| <i>ābēn</i> 32, 50   | <i>aḥ rōšan xamīg</i> 32, 52          |
| <i>ābēšihād</i> 311  | <i>amah</i> 129, 138                  |
| <i>ābē'ūs</i> 79, 95   | <i>amahraspandān</i> 79, 91, 225, 276 |
| <i>ābēvizandīh</i> 129, 140  | <i>āmūstān</i> 154                    |
| <i>ābēvizēndīy</i> 129, 140  | <i>āmūzd</i> 118, 119                 |
| <i>*ābēzagān</i> 135   | <i>āmūzdgār</i> 118                   |
| <i>abgandan</i> 64   | <i>ānād</i> 48, 335                   |
| <i>*abgūhag</i> 36, 64   | <i>*ānāftan</i> 146                   |
| <i>abḥūm</i> 81, 114   | <i>ānāmānd</i> 130, 146               |
| <i>ab-ḥūm</i> 114  | <i>andar</i> 34, 58, 62               |
| <i>abrāst</i> 119  | <i>andar parzīd</i> 34, 56            |
| <i>abrāst-ḥēm</i> 82, 119, 215                                       | <i>andar pēmōxt</i> 32, 45, 46        |
| <i>ačīš</i> 34, 57, 67   | <i>andarōn</i> 32, 53                 |
| <i>ādbēn</i> 45  | <i>andarz</i> 335                     |
| <i>ādūrēn</i> 31, 130, 148   | <i>andēšīšn</i> 111, 335              |
| <i>ādūr 'ūd rōšan</i> 30, 43   | <i>angad</i> 274                      |
| <i>adyāwārēft</i> 104  | <i>anī</i> 32, 36, 52, 60             |
| <i>āfrīdag</i> 113   | <i>ānīdagān</i> 84, 125               |
| <i>āgādāg</i> 113  | <i>anōš</i> 144                       |
| <i>agrāv</i> 113   | <i>anōšag</i> 291                     |
| <i>āgūst</i> 233   | <i>anp(?) spīn</i> 30, 39             |
| <i>āgūst'ūd gāšt</i> 30, 38  | <i>āprhēnd</i> 79, 98                 |
| <i>aḥlamōgān</i> 83, 122   | <i>āprhēnd</i> 98                     |
| <i>aḥrāmād</i> 128, 135, 189   | <i>āprīd</i> 129, 130, 139, 143       |
|  | <i>āprīwan</i> 129, 141               |

- āpūrīdan* 32, 48  
*ardāy* 209  
*ardāv* 153  
*ardāvān* 81, 115, 129, 131, 138, 157  
*ardāyih* 124  
*ardāg* 187  
*ardāgar* 187  
*ariyāmān* 81, 113, 251  
*asmān* 34, 36, 56, 57, 63  
*asmānān* 32, 34, 50, 55, 234, 315, 316  
*asmānān dar* 34, 55  
*āšōb* 78, 87  
*āšōbgarēft* 87  
*āšqārag* 80, 108  
*asf* 80, 108, 163, 172  
*astār* 49  
*āvāmān* 82, 121  
*Avarzōg* 106, 108, 251  
*avīš* 64  
*\*avīšōrūptan* 36, 64  
*avīštābēdagīh* 84, 126  
*āxēs* 105  
*āxēsēd* 105  
*āyab* 65, 130, 148, 287  
*āyād* 155  
*Āz* 80, 106, 108, 251  
*az* 162, 170, 171  
*āzād(-)iōxm* 118  
*azdahāg* 30, 38, 310  
  
*bā* 80, 108, 274  
*ba'an* 44, 129, 131, 142, 150  
*bag* 104, 141, 154, 280  
*baž* 308  
*bām* 134  
*bā nimūd* 80, 108  
*bār* 131, 152  
*bār 'i rūstīy* 152  
*baš* 79, 96, 98  
*bast(-) ānād* 109  
*bavād* 83, 123  
*bavēnd* 130, 143  
*bazag* 68  
*bē* 169  
*-bēd* 225  
*[bēd]* 79, 99  
  
*bēdōm* 36, 59  
*bēg* 134  
*bēh* 129, 139, 140  
*Bē Zarwān* 154  
*bōšō* 257  
*bōxsāg* 162, 172  
*bōxtag* 265  
*bōxtagēft* 241  
*bōxtan* 172  
*bōž-ān* 172  
*brahm* 183  
*būd* 277  
*bū[d](-)ānād* 80, 110  
*būn* 162, 170, 171  
*būnīš* 79, 95  
*'bxs'yduš* 79, 102  
  
*čahār* 32, 36, 50, 63, 64  
*čahārdah dar* 30, 45  
*čahār parīsp* 34, 55, 201  
*čāsm* 130, 148  
*čāsmagān* 83, 124  
*čāsmgāh* 80, 108  
*čē* 81, 82, 115, 118, 335  
*čē-m-īš* 82, 119  
*čēdan* 45  
*čigōn* 111  
*či'ōn* 82, 121  
*či'ōn-īš* 79, 95  
*č'vn* 80, 82, 111, 121  
  
*dā* 129, 140  
*dād* 68  
*dādīhā* 65  
*dafēdagīh* 84, 125  
*Daḥībēd* 307, 308  
*dāmdādān* 230  
*dānād* 79, 95  
*dānīšn* 154  
*dā 'ō kyy* 82, 117  
*dar* 36, 63  
*darāyīšn* 97  
*darāyīst* 97  
*dardēmand* 142  
*dārē[d]* 162, 166



- dārēnd* 36, 63  
*darvandān* 65  
*das* 234, 315  
*dašn* 265, 327  
*dašnēzādag'ān* 327  
*dast* 34, 57, 111, 335  
*davēnd* 82, 121  
*davvand* 149  
*dēn* 124, 130, 131, 140, 144, 156  
*Dēn Māzēdēs* 152  
*dēm* 36, 69  
*dēv* 79, 98  
*dīdān* 82, 121  
*dīl* 130, 148  
*dō* 34, 36, 54, 58, 60, 112  
*dōšst* 82, 114, 119  
*dōšōx* 36, 65, 66, 148  
*dōstān* 67  
*drūstīy* 140  
*drūxš* 79, 98  
*dūdī* 31, 32, 39, 45, 69  
*dūr* 130, 147  
*[dūšm]ēn* 79, 99, 147, 162, 170, 171  
*dūšmēnūn* 130, 147  
*dvādēs* 194  
*dvāzdah* 36, 65  
*dvāzdah dar* 30, 34, 43, 54  
*d(?)vrvnd* 130, 148  
  
*'ērdōm* 34, 36, 53, 56, 57, 63, 316  
*'ēstēnd* 53  
*'ēv* 32, 52  
*'ēra[gūhāh]* 34, 59  
  
*farēh* 128, 135, 136, 137  
*\*farēhagān* 129, 141, 223  
*farēhgōn* 137  
*farēhnām* 137  
*farēhistōm* 81, 114  
*farēhrōd* 137  
*frāč* 83, 121, 139  
*frasarāyēd* 83, 124  
*frēh* 138  
*frēstagān* 44  
*frīyāmag* 273, 274, 277  
*frsr'yūd* 83, 124  
  
*fryhstōm* 81, 114  
  
*gāh* 43  
*gaḥī* 69, 311  
*gāh sel* 43  
*gardanīdan rāi* 30, 39  
*gīrd* 34, 57  
*gīšt* 30, 38, 233  
*giyān* 79, 88, 98, 129, 140  
*giyānān* 79, 102, 103, 104  
*gēh* 81, 116  
*grēv* 257  
*grift* 211  
*grīv* 78, 88, 256  
*Grīv Živandag* 265  
*griyēnd* 83, 122  
*gryft* 211  
*gū* 81, 115  
*gūāgān* 81, 115  
*gū-am* 82, 118  
*gūmēxtag* 36, 60  
*gūrd* 80, 111  
  
*hā* 82, 117  
*ham* 32, 46  
*hamāg* 156  
*hambidīf* 32, 34, 50, 54  
*hāmēdēs* 169  
*hamēs* 120  
*hamēv* 82, 117  
*hāmēn (or hāmagēn) qērd* 32, 49  
*hāmnāfān* 67  
*hamvāšt* 257  
*hān* 34, 54, 59  
*hangand* 32, 49  
*hangāpt* 52  
*hapt* 34, 57  
*hapt abāxtar* 30, 38  
*harv* 335  
*havištīgān* 130, 145  
*hēb* 129, 130, 139, 143  
*hēm* 70, 119  
*hēnd* 162, 166, 335  
*hiyār* 198  
*hiyārān* 130, 141, 142  
*hiyārīh* 198

- ḥmyys* 82, 120  
*ḥōšāgēn* 32, 50, 51  
*ḥrēbatagān* 164, 165  
*ḥrybtg'* 162, 163  
*ḥūravānān* 129, 138  
*ḥwāmūšd(-)tōxm* 82, 110  
  
*ʿidvāst* 257  
*ʿim rān* 162, 166  
*ʿn* 129, 130, 140, 144  
*ʿš* 34, 57, 80, 111  
*ʿispar* 130, 144, 145  
*ʿispaśag* 165  
*ʿispēzd* 168  
*ʿispūr* 335  
*ʿispūrig* 111, 335  
*ʿistabr* 60  
*ʿistāvad[ā]n* 129, 131, 142, 150  
*ʿistāvēd* 280  
*ʿistāyišn* 131, 151  
*ʿistēnād* 34, 57, 58  
*ʿistūd* 130, 143  
*ʿistūn* 34, 57  
*ʿistūnān* 34, 58  
*ʿizdēh* 256  
  
*kām* 277  
*kand* 162, 170, 171  
*kandan* 99  
*kandār* 49  
*kanīg* 133, 134  
*kārčār* 120  
*kē* 36, 53, 63, 162, 170  
*kēnvār* 79, 99  
*kērbag* 58  
*kērbagīy* 130, 148  
*kērbakar* 148  
*kērdag* 151  
*kērdag-gār* 112  
*kērdagārān* 129, 142  
*kēšvar* 32, 36, 54, 59, 63  
*kēy* 82, 117  
*k(h = x)rōstār* 309  
*kōp* 36, 69  
*kū* 118  
*kūnānd* 130, 147  
  
*kū-šān* 82, 118  
*kūšt* 162, 166  
*kyy* 82, 117  
  
*Mādar* ʿi *Zindagān* 322  
*magh* 130, 144, 145  
*māh* 162, 167  
*mahistag* 165  
*mahr* 131, 151  
*mahrān* 151  
*mahrēspandān* 44, 131, 141, 150  
*mahrnāmag* 151  
*Maidān* 81, 113  
*mān* 43  
*man* 111, 113, 275, 335  
*mānāg* 81, 115  
*Mānbēd* 32, 34, 53, 59, 141, 307, 308, 310  
*mānd* 108  
*māndan* 115  
*mānīstānān* 128, 135  
*manōhmēd* 275  
*Manvakhmēd* 275  
*mardōhm* 105, 277  
*mardōhmān* 79, 105  
*marg* 49  
*mazan* 36, 67  
*māzaman* 36, 60  
*Mihryazd* 32, 41, 46  
*mnvḥmyd* 275  
*mōyēnd* 162, 166  
*mōzag* 165  
*mūhr* 80, 111, 335  
*mūrdāhēz* 110  
*mūrz* 118  
*mūrzūd* 83, 122  
*mūrzūhēnd* 81, 117  
  
*nāf* 79, 95, 124  
*nāfag* 67  
*nāfān* 83, 124  
*nāi* 36, 61  
*nāpag* 36, 67  
*naraḥ* 66  
*Narēsap* 280  
*nasāh* 78, 79, 90, 96

- nāw rōšan* 41  
*nāwrōšan* 41  
*naxwān* 277  
*nē* 79, 95  
*nērōg* 155, 308  
*nērōgāwēnd* 155, 308  
*nēwān* 130, 142  
*nēzag* 130, 144, 145, 162, 170  
*nḥrysyd* 79, 94  
*ničid* 51  
*\*niḥādan* 53  
*niḥrīsēd* 79, 94  
*niḥūftan* 130, 142  
*niḥūm* 114  
*niḥūmbāgān* 130, 142  
*niḥūmbānd* 130, 144  
*nīsād* 32, 34, 53, 59  
*nimāyad* 102  
*ninēsānd* 81, 116  
*nīrāmīšn* 32, 50  
*nīrāpt* 32, 50, 51  
*nīyām* 201  
*nīyōšāgān* 129, 131, 138, 157  
*nmys'nd* 81, 116  
*nōg* 152, 287  
*nyyč* 80, 109  
  
*'ō* 129, 130, 140, 147  
*'ōbāyenīd* 32, 52  
*'ōē* 32, 34, 53, 58  
*'ōēšān* 83, 122  
*'ōh* 129, 139, 140  
*'Oḥrmīzd* 79, 93, 99, 104, 162, 170  
*'ōn* 231  
*'ōrōn* 36, 60, 67  
*'ōš-garān* 78, 87  
*'ōxēst* 32, 48  
*'ōxēst(-)ānād* 80, 105  
  
*pad* 30, 32, 34, 36, 43, 54, 57, 60, 63, 172  
*padēn* 80, 109  
*pādḡrēb* 57  
*pād(i)kšāw* 82, 117  
*padīrānd* 151  
*padīravāgān* 131, 151  
*padīrēd* 265  
  
*padīrēft* 80, 151  
*padīrīft, pād°* 211, 335  
*pād(i)šnōḥr* 82, 118  
*pād(i)šnōḥrēd* 118  
*pād(i)xšnōḥr* 172  
*padīy(?)zānd* 130, 146  
*pad \*xwar* 162, 167  
*pādrōčag* 162, 171  
*padvāxtag* 231  
*paḥḡgērb* 57  
*Pāhrag-bēd* 307  
*Pāhragbēd* 296, 307, 308  
*paḥrēsēnānd* 130, 144  
*paḥrēsēnāgān* 130, 142  
*paḥrēsēnd* 123  
*paḥrēsīšn* 83, 123  
*pāḡōs* 36, 65, 66  
*pākhān* 129, 138  
*panš* 79, 90, 335  
*panz kandūr 'i marg* 32, 48  
*panz[ō]m* 34, 54  
*paraḥān* 223  
*pārāyišn* 32, 40, 46, 189  
*parēh* 135, 136  
*parēḥān* 223  
*parīg* 79, 98  
*parīg* 34, 58  
*pārgēnān* 36, 60  
*parīsp* 30, 32, 34, 36, 43, 51, 58, 59  
*pārūd* 30, 32, 40, 47, 48  
*parūxān* 81, 112  
*parūxīy* 112  
*parzād* 30, 38  
*pas-aš* 79, 90  
*pasāxt* 36, 66  
*pāsbānī* 131, 155  
*pašlag* 265  
*patīyad* 102  
*patīyārān* 130, 147  
*pāyānd* 130, 144  
*pāyryft* 211  
*pēmōg seh* 32, 46, 238, 240  
*pēmōxt* 32, 46  
*\*pērāmōn* 36, 63, 67  
*Pīd* 223  
*prāš* 139

- pramānagēn* 32, 53  
*pratōmīn* 54  
*pravahṛ* 50  
*pravahṛēn* 30, 39, 43, 45  
*prāy* 131, 156  
*prāzīšt* 129, 139  
*prēstag* 36, 63, 141  
*prēstagān* 45, 129, 131, 141, 150  
*prēstānd* 128, 135  
*pryh* 128, 135  
*pūrsīd* 82, 119  
*pūs* 114  
  
*qērbag* 155  
*qērbagēft* 148  
*qērd* 32, 53, 78, 87  
*qērdagān* 131, 151  
*qērdagār* 80, 111, 151  
*qērd* 'ūd vīrāst 30, 45  
*qēšān* 83, 124  
*qēšvar* 36, 64  
*qūmār* 145  
  
*rāz* 36, 62, 66, 78, 88, 162, 166  
*raḥē* 30, 41  
*ram* 130, 143  
*rasēnd* 65  
*rāst* 79, 98  
*rāstīh* 130, 147  
*ravān* 45, 138, 150  
*ravānčīn* 44, 45, 150  
*ravānčīnān* 131, 150  
*rāz* 287  
*razm* 120, 146  
*razmāh* 82, 120  
*razmyōz* 130, 134, 146  
*[rē]škēn* 130, 148  
*rēzīšn* 130, 148  
*'rīj* 36, 61  
*rīstāhēz* 70, 109  
*rōč* 113, 129, 140  
*rōšan* 36, 60, 133, 134, 154, 256, 277, 280  
*rōšanān* 162, 164, 273, 274  
*rōšanānībā* 274  
*rōšanšah[r yazd]* 280  
  
*rūmb* 111, 335  
*rūyīšn* 83, 123  
*rūzdān* 83, 121  
  
*šā* 34, 59  
*saḥīn* 36, 70  
*šahr*\*81, 115, 167, 287  
*šahrān* 162, 166  
*šahrdārēft* 194  
*šahriyār* 81, 113  
*-šān* 118  
*sar* 34, 56, 57  
*sārān* 82, 120  
*šarāsēnād* 106  
*šāyēhēd* 83, 124  
*šāyēhēd* 82, 117  
*seh* 32, 54  
*Shābūhṛagān* 275  
*shyn* 70  
*sīst* 162, 166  
*sōgvār* 83, 123  
*'spyd* 162, 168  
*šr'syn'd* 80, 105  
*š'ykyd* 83, 124  
*š'ykyd* 82, 117  
  
*tāg* 32, 54  
*tāgān* 34, 58  
*tagīg* 126  
*ṭahm* 129, 142, 163, 172  
*ṭahmān* 129, 142  
*tan* 129, 140  
*tanān* 79, 105  
*tanvūr* 105  
*tār* 36, 64  
*tarē* 32, 54  
*tas* 58  
*taskērb* 34, 57, 58  
*taxtīhā* 108  
*taxtīhāy* 80, 108  
*tōhm* 70  
*tōxm* 70  
*tōzēnd* 83, 122  
*tskyrb* 57  
  
*'ūd* 32, 34, 53, 56, 57, 58, 83, 103, 124, 233

- 'ūl 239  
 'ūl *ahrāft* 81, 112, 189  
 'ūš 36, 61, 79, 95, 98, 103  
 'ū-š 130, 131, 144, 155, 162, 170, 171  
 'ūšā- 30, 45  
 'ūšān 30, 38, 46  
 'ūūd 277  
 -ūūš 80, 110  
 'ūzdēh 256  
 \*{uz}rēf 62
- ū 127, 129, 134, 138  
 vā 30, 40  
 vābarīgān.291  
 vād 36, 61, 291  
 vād vā āb 30, 45  
 vād-ahrām 53, 62, 239  
 Vād-ahrām Yazd 309, 310, 311  
 vah 153  
 'vahēbgār' 152  
 vahēbgārī 131, 152  
 vahēdēnān 152  
 vahīgār 152  
 vahīh 154  
 vahīšt 81, 112, 287  
 Vahīštāv 287  
 Vahīy 154  
 Vahman 131, 133, 134, 155  
 Vahmanān 128, 133  
 vakhd 109  
 varavīšn 129, 138  
 varavīst 80, 110  
 vas 36, 61  
 vašt 257  
 vāxš 140, 291, 292  
 vāz 128, 133, 134  
 vāzīšnīha 80, 111, 335  
 vazurg 34, 54, 58, 60, 134, 231, 280, 287  
 vazurgēft 256  
 Vazurgē 223  
 vēhīy 153  
 vēnāh 194  
 vēnēd 194  
 vēš 131, 156  
 -vīmyd 275  
 vičārīšn 70
- vičārīšnīf 36, 70  
 vičīdag 143  
 vičīdagān 81, 115, 130, 143  
 vičīhāg-ūm 81, 115  
 vīftag 79, 95  
 vīgrād 162, 171  
 vīhādān 84, 125  
 vīmand 30, 40, 61, 200, 259  
 vīnārd 36, 63, 188  
 vīnast 83, 122  
 vīrāst 30, 36, 45, 69  
 Vīsbēd 141, 307, 308, 310  
 vīsp 36, 61, 80, 111  
 vīspān 162, 166  
 vīsp-īš 335  
 vixand 79, 99  
 'vm (*avam*) 79, 97  
 'vwm ('ūm) 81, 113  
 vxd (*vxad*) 80, 109  
 vydr'y (*vīdrāī*) 79, 96  
 vyhyy 153
- xanēnd 83, 122  
 xast 162, 170, 209  
 xastan 171  
 xēšmēn 82, 83, 117, 122  
 xrōsag 231  
 xrōštāg 231  
 xrōstār 309  
 xvad 109, 162, 166, 167  
 xwānīhād 125  
 xwānīhīst 83, 125  
 xwār 152  
 xvarās[ānīg] 34, 54  
 xvaš 44  
 xwāstag 81, 116  
 xwāštīn 80, 82, 111, 117, 335
- yāvēdān 112  
 yazd 32, 53, 58, 141, 153, 154, 239,  
 280, 305, 308, 310  
 yazdā 134  
 yazdān 309  
 'y 130, 148  
 ydkd 277  
 Yīšō' 130, 133, 134, 143, 251

<i>yōz</i> 146	<i>zēndānīg</i> 79, 97
<i>yōšdakar</i> 129, 130, 131, 140, 144, 156, 291, 292	<i>zīhr</i> 84, 126
<i>zādag'an</i> 265	<i>zīhrēn</i> 126
<i>zādmūrd</i> 110	<i>zīndagān</i> 83, 124
<i>zādmūrdā</i> 110	<i>Zīndagān Mādar</i> 322
<i>zahr</i> 68	<i>zīndkar</i> 134, 291
<i>zamān</i> 81, 114	<i>Zīndakarī</i> 78, 86, 110
<i>zamīg</i> 32, 34, 36, 53, 58, 60, 69, 80, 105, 316	<i>Žirēft</i> 154
<i>zan</i> 81, 116	<i>zīrān</i> 82, 115, 117
<i>Zandbēd</i> 307, 308	[zīš]t 79, 99
<i>zar</i> 81, 116	<i>zīvahr</i> 291
[za]rhīg 36, 68, 228	<i>zīvandag</i> 227-
<i>Zāvar</i> 154	<i>zīvondorēy</i> 257
<i>zāyedān</i> 81, 112, 129, 139, 140	<i>Zōr</i> 154, 155
<i>zēn</i> 79, 93, 162, 170, 225	<i>zōrēmandān</i> 130, 141, 142
<i>zēndān</i> 36, 68, 79, 96	[zōr 'i v]ād 311
	<i>zrēh</i> 36, 66
	<i>Zrvān</i> 169
	<i>zūtār</i> 82, 119

## BOOK PAHLAVI

<i>aērpat</i> 164	<i>apēsahīnūtan</i> 211
<i>āfrīwan</i> 141	<i>apṛāstō</i> 119
<i>Ahraman</i> 149	<i>āpṛīwan</i> 141
<i>ahrāmēnēnd</i> 189	<i>āpūrūtan</i> 48
<i>ahrāmīšn</i> 188	<i>arāstakūh</i> 215
<i>ahrāyīh</i> 209	<i>ārāyihēt</i> 217
<i>akōrē</i> 217	<i>ašgahānīh</i> 212
<i>amā</i> 138	<i>āškārak</i> 108
<i>Amurdād</i> 92	<i>āsmān</i> 200
<i>āmūrzūtan</i> 117	<i>āšōp</i> 87
<i>anāftan</i> 212	<i>astak</i> 209
<i>an ap tnn</i> 212	<i>āštīh</i> 117
<i>a n b d dān(n)</i> 198	<i>ast-ōmand</i> 209
<i>angēžihēt</i> 197	<i>ātūr</i> 217
<i>āngōn</i> 190	<i>Ātūrpūt</i> 211
<i>āngōnīhtak</i> 190	<i>Auharmazd</i> 93
<i>angōšitak</i> 189, 190	<i>av-am</i> 97
<i>Anōšarvān</i> 92	<i>āvām</i> 121
<i>aoš</i> 87	<i>āvīrāstan</i> 210
<i>apa-gūmānīh</i> 119	<i>awasīhīnūtan</i> 214
<i>āpām</i> 121	<i>awāyastan</i> 215
<i>ap-aš</i> 215	<i>awīkān</i> 198
<i>apāstan</i> 215	<i>Āz</i> 106
<i>apāyīstan</i> 215	<i>až</i> 187

- ažšān* 197  
*āžūrīhā* 210  
*āžvarīhā* 210  
*Až-varžišnīh* 211  
  
*bag* 187  
*bast* 188  
*bastak* 216  
*bastō* 188  
*bōxtišnīh* 215  
*brahm* 183  
*būndātagān* 184  
*būndātak* 214  
*būn-dāt-lar* 183  
  
*čabun* 214  
*čāstakīh* 149, 211  
*čūtan* 150  
*čīš* 209  
  
*dārišn* 213  
*darpuštīh* 52, 201  
*davist* 211  
*dav-varžišnīh* 149  
*Dēn, Vēh* 152  
*dī* 208  
*dnddm* 212  
*drāyīšn* 183  
*drāyist* 183, 210  
*dūkān* 185  
*dūšōx* 148  
  
*ēhrpat* 164, 165  
*ērangīh* 182  
*ēranjēnišn* 182  
*ērast* 182  
*'ē ū 'ē* 216  
*'ēvak* 210  
*'ēyar* 198  
  
*farūx* 112  
*frās* 139  
*frāš val (ō)* 200  
*frēh* 156  
  
*gan[r]āk-dahakān* 211

- gēlī* 184, 214  
*gōdātan* 212  
*gōn* 111  
*grīvak* 89  
*grīv-pān* 89  
*gūrt* 112  
  
*hakūrē* 217  
*hamāk* 156  
*hamāk* 156  
*hamist* 121  
*han-dēmān* 69, 196  
*handēmānkar* 196  
*hastak* 209  
*hēm* 119  
*hērpat* 165  
  
*ī* 208, 215  
  
*javītar* 119  
*jōrtākān* 197  
*jūtar* 119  
  
*haḍām* 49  
*katām* 49  
*karfakīh* 148  
*kartak* 151  
*kērōkīh* 192  
*kēš* 124  
*k r p k* 58  
*kū* 118  
*Kūndag* 56, 214  
*kūštan* 166, 210, 212  
*kūtak* 189  
  
*mān* 135  
*mānič* 211  
*mansr* 151  
*marjūpat* 164  
*martūm(-)tan* 210  
*mat* 200  
*mēnōg* 215  
*mōstōmand* 166  
*mūhr* 111  
*Mūrdād* 92  
*murvōvēhān* 155, 225

- nājak* 67  
*našā* 216  
*Nāhād* 92  
*nāi* 61  
*nāpak* 67  
*nasāh* 89  
*nasāk* 90  
*nērōg* 308  
*nērōk* 155  
*nēv* 142  
*nēzak* 146  
*nihān* 211  
*nihuftan* 142  
*Nōšīrvān* 92  
  
*ōdrāyistan* 210  
*Ōhrmazd* 93  
*Ōhrmizd* 187  
*ōpast* 65  
*ōsatan* 199  
  
*pačēn* 189  
*pādaššah* 117  
*pādgōs* 66  
*pāhrēxtan* 123  
*pāk* 138, 291  
*pālāyēnd* 189  
*pālāyišn* 189  
*parkār* 214  
*pasāxtan* 66  
*pasēmārīh* 212  
*pašīraftan* 151  
*pašīrīftan* 211  
*pātiššōi* 117  
*patvand* 212  
*pavan* 212  
*pāxrēš* 123  
*pēšēmārīh* 212  
*prāi* 156  
*prāy* 156  
  
*rād* 324  
*rādīh* 324  
*raftan* 125  
*raftō* 187  
*rāi* 88  
  
*ram* 143, 324  
*ramak* 143  
*ramān* 214  
*rāmišn* 324  
*rapēlō* 187  
*rāstīh* 147  
*rāt* 324  
*rātīh* 324  
*rāyēnītan* 212  
*rēm* 89  
*rēman* 89  
*rēš* 148  
*rēškūn* 148  
*rēšīhēt* 197  
*rīstāxēz* 109  
*rōdišn* 123  
*rūbān* 150  
*rūbišn* 123  
*rūbūtō* 187  
*\*rūvūtō* 187  
  
*šadkūnā* 215  
*sāmān* 200  
*spar* 145  
*spēzēt* 168  
*šusr* 186  
  
*tan-drūš* 216  
*tar* 187  
*tēš* 99  
*tōzišn* 122  
*tuxīhīh* 201  
  
*vād* 292  
*vahān* 187  
*Vahman* 133  
*vāhmānīh* 192  
*vāi* 201  
*varavīšn* 138  
*vāf* 291  
  
*Veh Dēn* 152  
*vēš* 156  
*vištak* 95  
*vīmōnd* 200



*vinās* 215  
*virāstan* 69  
*virāstārīh* 217  
*višātakīh* 201  
*višōwīhēt* 217

*xāmast* 213  
*xanītan* 122  
*x<sup>o</sup>arrēh* 137  
*xastak* 209  
*x<sup>o</sup>āstak* 116  
*xāstan* 105  
*xēm* 119

*xēšm* 117

*yāvētān* 112  
*Yazdān* 216  
*yekwūnēt* 212

*zākr* 68  
*zēndān* 68, 96  
*zīrak* 118  
*zīvandag* 227, 292  
*zrēh* 66  
*zruwānīh* 192  
*zūt* 99, 120

## PĀZAND

*ā* 191  
*aflāw* 180, 201  
*Āharman* 189  
*aharāmišni* 46, 178, 188  
*āīn* 178, 192  
*akanārač* 183  
*anatū* 176, 183  
*anāwtan* 212  
*añbasānīhā* 180, 198  
*añdēmān* 178, 196  
*añgōšīdaa* 178, 189, 190  
*ārāīhēt* 180, 199  
*ardī* 176, 186  
*ašā* 178, 197  
*āsāēaa* 180, 201  
*āsmān* 176, 185, 188  
*awā* 178, 190  
*awarē* 178, 190  
*awazadan* 198  
*awisohīnītan* 211  
*awsahīnītan* 211  
*ažaaš* 176, 188  
*až-ašā* 178, 197

*bahōt* 110  
*bālist* 178, 188  
*bast* 176, 178, 186, 190, 197, 234  
*bastan* 176, 188  
*bēruñ* 178, 188  
*brahm* 182

*buñdatar* 183  
*bun-gawōšni* 183  
*bunyaštaa* 180, 199  
*bunyaštağā* 183

*čim* 191  
*čuñ* 180, 201

*dādār* 180, 198  
*dahišni* 178, 190  
*dām* 176, 188  
*dām i guzurg* 188  
*dānēt* 176, 183  
*dāšt* 176, 188  
*dāštār* 180, 198  
*dēw* 185  
*dēwā* 227  
*dīt* 176, 181  
*dīt īñ* 180, 199  
*dōšī* 182  
*du* 180, 199  
*dūgā* 185  
*dūwītan* 212  
*Duxtarā* 178, 192, 193  
*Dvāzdahā* 178, 192, 193

*ērañg* 176, 181, 182  
*ēšā* 197  
*estāñd* 176, 186  
*estāšni* 180, 199  
*ēž* 176, 178, 185, 197

*fradim* 176, 186*frəw* 176, 182*frāfiārī* 182*gāhā* 190*gāhā i kōdak* 178, 189*gəθē* 184*guzurg* 176, 188, 190*ham* 180, 198*hamāē* 213*hamāihā* 180, 199, 200*hamāihā-estəšni* 200*hamə* 198*ham-ayār* 180, 198*ham-pačīn* 178, 189, 190*ham-vīmañdihā* 180, 199, 200*hast* 180, 188, 199*hupārd* 176, 186, 191, 227*hūsazihāt* 178, 197*-ihā* 200*kard* 176, 180, 188, 197*kardan* 180, 198*kaš* 192*kərba* 58*kəroē* 178, 192*kāš* 176, 182*kāšā* 178, 182, 191*kištan* 180, 198*kōdak* 189*ku añdā* 178, 196, 197*Kunē* 176, 185*Mahəst* 176, 183*maržəšni* 178, 190*Māzañdarā* 176, 178, 186, 191, 197*məhtar* 182*nāxun* 176, 186*nə* 110*nəiča* 180, 198*nihārawəšni* 182*nīrō* 308*nišāmā* 180, 201*nišānāh* 201*nō ān* 192*nuñ* 176, 183*pa* 176, 186, 191, 234*pačīn* 189*pādirā-kardārī* 178, 180, 191, 198*padirāftan* 211*pādirānihāt* 178, 191*paēwañd* 180, 198*pālāišni* 46, 178, 188*pasīn* 110, 180, 199*pārōž* 180, 199*pāš-vīnāihā* 189*pōst* 176, 185*rāinādan* 180, 198*rəvihet* 178, 197*rəwudan* 176, 186, 187, 188*rist* 110*rōšanē* 178, 191, 192, 197, 227*spīhīr* 176, 186, 188, 192, 234*šubur* 176, 178, 186, 191, 197*tan* 110, 180, 199*tani-kardā* 176, 178, 190*urvarā* 178, 197*va* 212*vahān* 178, 197*vārā* 178, 191*varun* 178, 197*va-šā* 176, 188*vašādaē* 180, 201*vašōwihāt* 180, 199*vazārdārī* 199*vazārihāt* 178, 197*viāmānē* 178, 192*vīnārd* 178, 188*vīninəñd* 178, 192, 194*vīrāstārī* 110, 180, 199*xāmast* 184, 185*Xʷarīgā* 178, 192, 193

*Yazat* 180, 199

*zāišni* 178, 180, 190, 198

*zamī* 178, 197

*Zarathušt* 176, 183

*ziñdānī* 178, 190, 190, 197

*zōrdāē* 178, 197

*Zurvān* 178, 192

*Zurvānī* 178, 192

*Zurvānī rōšanī* 192

## NEW PERSIAN

*āfarīdan* 48

*āfarīn* 141

*afgandan* 49, 64

*Ahrīman* 149

*āmursīdan* 117

*āmūzīdan* 119

*ārang* 182

*āškārah* 108

*āšōb* 87

*āšī* 117

*āvām* 121

*āyīn* 192

*ašgahān* 212

*āzūr* 210

*āzvar* 210

*Bah Dīn* 152

*bahišt* 112

*Bahman* 133

*Bām* 284

*bar rōī zamīn* 69

*barxēzānīdan* 90

*bas* 156

*baxšā'īdan* 102

*bēš* 156

*bīhūš* 95

*čīdan* 150

*čōn* 111

*čūn* 111

*d'rā'īdan* 210

*darā'īdan* 97

*darāy* 97

*darmān* 49

*darmāna* 49

*dām* (*dēm*) 69

*dōšt* 119

*dōzax* 65

*dūgān* 185

*farāz* 121, 139

*farīgh* 58

*farrah* 137

*farrihī* 137

*farrūx* 112

*firiḥ* 137

*-gān* 185

*-gānah* 185

*garāyistan* 210

*gašt* 257

*giriwā* 89

*gōn* 111

*griyānēd* 122

*gūh* 64

*gurd* 112

*gu-sistan* 167

*hamah* 156

*hargiz* 217

*hastā* 108

*hērbad* 164

*Isfahūn* 147

*ispar* 145

*jāvēdān* 112

*judā* 119

*kah* 118

*kardgar* 112

*kēš* 124

*kīh tā* 196

*kīrū* 192

<i>kudām</i> 49	<i>razmyōz</i> 134, 146
<i>kuštan</i> 166	<i>rēš</i> 148
	<i>rēškan</i> 148
<i>mān</i> 135	<i>rīm</i> 89
<i>mōyīdan</i> 166	<i>ristāxēz</i> 109
<i>muhr</i> 111	<i>rixtan</i> 62
<i>muštan</i> 118	<i>rubūdah</i> 187
	<i>rubūdan</i> 187
<i>nāfah</i> 67	<i>ruftan</i> 64
<i>nāz</i> 61	
<i>nasā</i> 90	<i>šārīdan</i> 106
<i>nāyah</i> 61	<i>sīpar</i> 145
<i>nāyiza</i> 61	<i>sōgvār</i> 123
<i>nēk</i> 142	
<i>nēv</i> 142	<i>šāq</i> 54
<i>nihuftan</i> 142	<i>Ṭīhrūn</i> 147
<i>nīrō</i> 155, 308	<i>tōxtan</i> 122
<i>nīzah</i> 146	
<i>nūn</i> 147	<i>xandah</i> 99, 122
	<i>xandīdan</i> 99, 122
<i>paḏīruftan</i> 151	<i>xastan</i> 171, 209
<i>pādišāh</i> 117	<i>xēm</i> 70
<i>pāk</i> 138	<i>xīm</i> 119, 215
<i>pālūdan</i> 40	<i>xišm</i> 117
<i>parčīdan</i> 38	<i>xūš-rāz</i> 44
<i>pargār</i> 214	<i>xwānandah</i> 125
<i>parhēz</i> 123	<i>xvand</i> 149
<i>parhēznāh</i> 123	
<i>pārūdan</i> 40	<i>yak nah yak</i> 216
<i>pāsbān</i> 58, 156	
<i>pāspān</i> 156	<i>zahr</i> 68, 228
<i>rāh</i> 41	<i>zamān</i> 114
<i>rāz</i> 88	<i>zindān</i> 68, 96
<i>rām</i> 143, 324	<i>zīrak</i> 118
<i>rāndan</i> 191	<i>ziriḥ</i> 66
<i>rāst</i> 147	<i>zišt</i> 99
<i>razm</i> 120	<i>zūd</i> 120

## SOGHDIAN

<i>āfrīwan</i> 141, 325	<i>ḏasā</i> 315
<i>Bām</i> 275, 276	<i>γarβākiyā</i> 153
<i>βarγīy</i> 324, 325	<i>γarbāq</i> 153
<i>bārīyvar</i> 66	<i>γrīw</i> 88

<i>gr'yw</i> h 89	<i>Ramraṭūkhβaγīy</i> 324
<i>γr'yw</i> 88	<i>rāmraṭūx</i> 325
	<i>rāṭūkh</i> 324
<i>lasā</i> 315	<i>r'mr'x</i> 323
<i>l̥bārā, l̥bārtā</i> 43	
<i>mardāspaniē</i> 91, 92, 276	<i>samānīh</i> 315
<i>marlāspandīh</i> 91, 92	<i>samānīṭy</i> 315
<i>Miše</i> 275, 276, 277	<i>Spendārmāt</i> 276
<i>murlospōnd</i> 92	<i>Spondārmūt</i> 276
<i>nēsāt</i> 116	<i>-ūkh</i> 324
<i>nryšnē</i> 280	<i>Yēšuvīy</i> 324
<i>paṭzān</i> 146	<i>Zarvāβaγīy</i> 324
<i>Rāmraṭūkh</i> 321, 323, 324, 325	<i>zprt'γš-</i> 291

## AVESTAN

<i>a-ḍaoya</i> 149	<i>ava</i> 64
<i>aēšma</i> 117	<i>avaēšqm</i> 97
<i>aēθrapaiti</i> 164, 165	<i>avaʃan-</i> 199
<i>Ahura Mazdāh</i> 93	<i>avaθa</i> 139
<i>airyaman</i> 113	<i>avi avabaraiti</i> 65
<i>āiθivant</i> 66	<i>āxšti</i> 117
<i>amaša-spənta</i> 92, 276	<i>Āzi</i> 106, 211
<i>anāpərəθa</i> 98	<i>Aži Dahāka</i> 38
<i>añra</i> 211	
<i>Aṇra Mainyu</i> 149	<i>əraia</i> 115
<i>aora</i> 60	
<i>aoša</i> h 51	<i>barəzišta-</i> 188
<i>aoša</i> 87	
<i>apa-gaya</i> 119	<i>čay-</i> 51
<i>apaoša</i> 51	<i>či-</i> 45
<i>apa-stūti</i> 119	
<i>apa-xšaθra</i> 119	<i>dā + vi</i> 125
<i>apāxtara</i> 38	<i>dab-</i> 149
<i>*āpərəθayeinti</i> 98	<i>daēman</i> 69, 196
<i>Ārmaiti</i> 276	<i>Daēna Māzdayasniš</i> 152
<i>artəmaoγa</i> 122	<i>Daēnā, vaγuhī</i> 152
<i>ašəmaoγa</i> 122	<i>daiγhu-paiti</i> 307
<i>astāra</i> 49	<i>daož-aγhu</i> 65
<i>āθ-</i> 66	<i>daožahva</i> 65
<i>aθaurvan</i> 164	<i>darəza</i> 56
<i>āθravan</i> 164	<i>√ dav-</i> 149
<i>āθri-</i> 66	<i>darəzānō.pərəθa-</i> 98

*dušmainyu* 99

*frānāmāite* 147

*frāyah* 156

*gaēθā* 116

*gaodya-* 213

*gaona* 111

*gar-* 171

*garəwa* 89

*gātu* 43

*grīwā* 89

*gūθa* 64

*γžar* 106

*haēz-* 105

*haēzaŋuha* 105

*hāma* 50, 156

*hāmōnāfa* 67

*hankan-* 49

*haya-* 119, 215

*hurunya* 138

*hu-rvan* 138

*kan-* 49

*kəhrpa* 58

*kutaka-* 189

*Mainyu-, Anra* 149

*Manah, Vohu* 133

*marz-* 118

*maqθra* 151

*Māzainiya daēva* 186

*mazan-* 67

*mərəždā* 118

✓ *myas* + *ham* 120

*naēnaēstar* 116

*nāfā* 67, 95

*nairya* 155, 308

\**nairyava* 155, 308

*Nairyō-saŋha* 279

*nasu* 90

✓ *nī-* 125

*nmūna* 135

*nmūnō-paiti* 307

✓ *pā-* 156

*pāiri.haēzaŋuha* 105

*pairikara-* 214

*pāirivāza-* 172

*paiti* 43

\**paēti-čayana-* 189

*paiti-ŋan* 146

*pāilixšnaoθra* 118

*pāihivāka-* 172

*paitiyāra* 148

-*pāna* 325

*pāθra* 156, 297, 307

*pərəθa* 98

*raēša* 148

*raiθya* 41

*ram-* 324

*rāman-* 324

*raočā* 273

*raoša* 123

*ratav-* 325

*raθa* 41

✓ *raz-* 120

✓ *rič* + *paiti* 123

✓ *rud-* 123

*saēd-* 167

*sid-* 167

*šiyav-* 101

*snaθa* 89

*spāra* 145

*Spentiā* 276

*srasč-* 105

*srasč-* 105

*sraska-* 105

*tanupərəθa* 98

*tarō* 54

*tarō* 54

*taoxman* 70

*taxma* 70, 142

*tkāēša* 124

*θraŋh-* 94

*Upairisaēna* 70

*urvan* 45, 138, 150

<i>vahišta ahu</i> 112	<i>xšnaoθra</i> 118
<i>Vaγuhī</i> 152	<i>xšnāsa-</i> 171
<i>Vaγuhī Daēnā</i> 152	√ <i>xšub-</i> 87, 217
√ <i>var-</i> 138	<i>xšudra-</i> 186
<i>vara</i> 66	<i>xvarnah</i> 137
<i>vasyah</i> 156	<i>x<sup>o</sup>atō</i> 109
<i>vāza</i> 133	
<i>vī-baγha</i> 97	<i>yaoždāθra</i> 140
<i>vidāyaī</i> 125	<i>yaoždāθrya</i> 140
<i>vī-kan-</i> 99	<i>yavaētiāt</i> 112
<i>vīpta</i> 95	
<i>vīs-paiī</i> 307	* <i>zaēna-dāna</i> 68, 96
<i>vī-xrūmant-</i> 97	<i>zan-</i> 171
<i>Vohu Manah</i> 133	<i>zantiu-paiī</i> 307
	<i>zaoša</i> 119
<i>xad-</i> 171	<i>zrāda</i> 66
<i>xšaθra</i> 115	<i>zrayah</i> 68

#### OLD PERSIAN

<i>A(h)uramazda</i> 93	<i>naiba</i> 142
<i>āθiyābaušna</i> 66	
<i>ava</i> 97	<i>rādiy</i> 88
<i>avaišām</i> 97	<i>rāsta</i> 147
<i>dauštar</i> 119	<i>vasiy</i> 156
<i>drayah</i> 68	<i>vī-kan-</i> 99
<i>farnah</i> 137	√ <i>xšā(y)</i> 117
	<i>xšā(y) + pati-y</i> 117
<i>hama</i> 156	

#### SANSKRIT

<i>abhika</i> 198	<i>apakṣiṇāti</i> 211
<i>abhūt</i> 199	<i>āsanatvam</i> 201
<i>abhya-ava-h-</i> 65	<i>aśuddha</i> 182
<i>ādi</i> 213	<i>aśuddhi</i> 182
<i>agilan</i> 191	<i>ālapasya</i> 199
<i>ajaya</i> 182	<i>avapadyate</i> 52
<i>ajayatva</i> 182	
<i>ākarṣaṇam</i> 189	<i>bhāra</i> 152
<i>amṛta-</i> 92	
<i>ā + nī-</i> 125	<i>chāyāyāś</i> 199
<i>anibaddhatayā</i> 198	<i>chid-</i> 167
<i>anvayaṇ</i> 198	√ <i>ci-</i> 45, 51, 150

*darśanāt* 197  
*dhānyāni* 197  
*duhikaraḥ* 193  
*dvādaśarāśiḥ* 193  
*dvayor* 199

*evam* 199

*gar-* 171  
*garbha* 89  
*grīvā-* 89  
*guptyām* 198  
*gūṭha-* 64

*hetunā* 197

*jānīyāta* 183  
*Jarathustrīyāḥ* 183

*kālasya* 193  
*kāmaḥ* 197  
*kandara* 49  
*kaṭāma* 49  
*khaḍ-* 171  
*khan-* 49, 99  
*kṣar-* 106  
*kṣiptaḥ* 198  
*kṣubh-* 87, 217

*mahimant* 60  
*māhina* 60  
*Mājandaradevānām* 193, 197  
*Mājdaiasnaḥ* 183  
*māntra* 151  
*Meru* 69  
*mudrā* 111  
*mūlāśpadayoḥ* 199

*nakhaiḥ* 187  
 $\sqrt{\text{nam}} + \bar{a}$  147  
*nanu* 183  
*naraka* 66  
*narākṛtīnām* 193  
*nārya-* 155, 308  
*naś-* 212  
*navaprakāratayā* 192

*nibaddho* 198  
*nīdarśayanti* 193, 194  
*nihan-* 212  
*nirasana* 212

*paḍaṣṣa-* 38  
*parigha* 58  
*pāvakā* 138  
*prabhṛti* 213  
*pracārayitum* 198  
*prathamam* 187  
*prati* 43  
*pratirūpa* 189  
*pratirūpāni* 189  
*pratisakhalyate* 191  
*prthivī* 184

*-rāśiḥ* 193  
*ratha-* 41  
*rathya-* 41  
*reṣa-* 148  
*rociṣam* 187, 191  
*ṛtā* 115

*sadaiva* 198  
*sākṣāt* 196  
*sama* 49, 156  
*samagrāni* 189  
*samagratayā* 199  
*samasīmatayā* 199  
*saṃgrāme* 187  
*saṃnidha-* 196  
*saṃsthitīḥ* 199  
*samudeti* 197  
*śarīrakṛtā* 184  
*śikhin-* 70  
*skhal-* 191  
*skhalanakariṭayā* 198  
*skhalana-karī* 191  
*śoka-* 123

*tathaiva* 189  
*tayor* 199  
*teṣāṃ* 197

*upakaṇṭham* 193, 196



*vanaspatinām* 197  
*veṣa* 183  
*vicitrataṣṭā* 192  
*vīrya* 186  
*viśr̥ṇa* 185  
*vivekataṣṭā* 192

*vyakti* 185  
*yat yāvat* 197  
*yathā* 199  
*ye agilan* 191

## TURKISH

*a-γu* 68  
*a-γuluq* 68  
*q̄mranmaq* 117  
*q̄[r̄i-γ]* 135  
*asra* 316  
  
*ballo* 145, 247, 269  
*bašin* 319  
*bašinga* 269  
*biłgā* 154  
*biš* 336  
*biš t(ā)ngri* 91  
  
*čaxšapt* 336  
*č(a)xšapt* 336  
*čγšapt* 336  
  
*ičintā* 65  
*-ing* 107  
  
*kök* 234, 316  
  
*m]ānišfān-γaru* 135  
*maxistag* 165  
*mōžag* 165  
  
*ofutsuz* 106  
*ög* 263, 322, 330  
*ög* 330  
*oγlanī* 226  
*oγlanları* 107  
*Ögütmiş* 322, 330  
*ogütmiş* 330  
*ölürdi* 268  
*on* 234, 316  
*orāu* 42  
*oiluy* 65  
*ovutsuz* 107

*p(a)dvaxtag* 231  
*Padvāxtag* 232  
  
*qad(a)ran* 293  
*gama-γ* 107  
*qaḫī-γ* 65  
*qat* 234, 316  
  
*sūkiz* 316  
*sūkiz ta-γlar* 70  
*Šmnu* 149, 268, 269  
*söngü* 145, 247  
*soq* 107  
*suq* 106  
  
*lam-γa* 111, 332, 336  
*t(a)m-γaqa* 111  
*tamu* 65  
*t(a)mudan* 263  
*t(ā)ngri* 262, 263, 268, 293, 322  
*tānrig* 234, 316  
*tānrigilär* 227  
*tiłgān* 62, 238, 312  
*tngrī* 135  
*tngrīih* 312  
*tngrilär* 195  
*tört* 111, 332  
*totunčsuz* 107  
*tünürig* 65  
  
*üç* 111, 312  
*üč öd* 183  
*üč tiłgān* 62, 238, 312  
*üzä* 316  
  
*Wadžiwantag* 293  
  
*xrošttag* 231

*Xrōštag* 232  
*[Xu]rm[uz]ta* 93, 268  
*Xʷāstavānēft* 183

*yāk* 106, 107  
*yāklār* 107, 268  
*yākk* 319  
*y(a)ruk* 332

*y(a)ruq* 111, 227  
*yaruq ordu* 42  
*yidi-lār* 269  
*yigr[mi i]lānmāk* 196  
*ygrmii k(ā)mičii* 195  
*yir* 3<sup>6</sup>  
*yirin* 65  
*ymā* 107, 263

## CHINESE

*Chan-mou* 322  
*che-t'ien ta-wang* 313  
  
*hu-lu-shō-tō* 231, 263  
  
*kiang-mo cheng-che* 313  
*kong* 42

*ming-che* 296, 313  
*mu-shō* 165  
*\*Mw'i-lao* 69  
  
*nīk* [or *nī*]-*liu* 88  
  
*p'o-leu-huo-tō* 231, 263  
  
*san-hiue* 55

*san luen* 47, 62, 238  
*san-tsai* 55  
*San tsi king* 183  
*san yi* 47  
*Shan* 323  
*Shan-mu* 263, 322  
*sseu-wei* 55  
  
*T'an-mo* 107  
*T'an-yü* 107  
*tch'e-che ming-che* 296, 313  
*t'ie-wei sseu-yuan* 55  
*ti-tsang ming-che* 313  
*Tsing-fong* 263, 293  
*ts'ouei-kouang ming-che* 313  
  
*Wei-lao* 69

## SYRIAC

*'Abhā* 223  
*'abhān* 242  
*Adāmōs* 229, 297  
*'aggānā* 238  
*'aggānē* 238  
*'akādh* 303  
*'al* 252  
*'alāhē* 91, 227  
*'āl'maw* 224  
*'āl'may* 224  
*'alpā* 237, 238  
*'ānyā* 231  
*'anādhēh* 251  
*'ar'ā h'ādāthā* 243  
*'ar'āthā* 235

*arkōnptā* 250  
*Ašqālūn* 249  
*'asōrēh* 253  
*Ašqālūn* 249  
*'athrā* 223, 224  
*aw'eyāth* 247  
*'a <y> kh* 245  
  
*bad* 251  
*bamdāthhōn* 231  
*b(a)n* 243  
*baš'kīnāthōn* 231  
*bedyā* 222  
*b'laishā* 245  
*b'li'* 236

- b<sup>o</sup>narw* 225, 226  
*Bn* 283  
*Bōlos* 48  
*b<sup>o</sup>sārōphē* 253  
*b<sup>o</sup>shentā* 251  
  
*d<sup>o</sup>* 241  
*dab<sup>h</sup>°khōl* 252  
*daḥbīšīn* 240  
*daḥ°bhīšīn* 240  
*daiwā* 250  
*dak°bhīšīn* 240  
*dan°hall°khān* 242  
*d°ḥayyē* 224  
*d°iqārā* 229, 297, 299  
*d°naphš* <*i*> 253  
*dnāšā* 230  
*dneflhān* 240  
*d°nūhrā* 223  
*d°rūḥā* 238  
*dōrḥyā* 247  
  
*°ebhdath* 238  
*°ekhal* 226  
*°elpē* 238, 242, 244  
*°Emmā d°Ḥayyē* 224, 321  
*ethdammi* 229  
*ethg°mar* <*ū*> 235  
*ethḥašbath* 244  
*ethḥabḥsath* 244  
*ethḥaššabḥ* <*ū*> 248  
*ethra°i* 224, 226  
  
*g°lā* 230  
*gābhōl* 253  
  
*ḥabbībh* 228  
*ḥamšā* 91, 227  
*ḥaunā* 95, 223, 227, 228  
*Ḥayyā* 273  
*ḥ°dhādhē* 248  
*ḥ°dha°sar* 234.  
*ḥ°šal* 239  
*ḥ°wath* 246  
  
*īḥeṭ* 248  
*°irāihēn* 241  
  
*kaḏ* 251  
*k°yānīn* 222  
  
*lābheš* 225  
*l°Arkonḥā* 252  
*l°b(a)n* 242  
*l°Bān* 273  
*l°bhaš* 232, 261  
*l°Ḥabbīb<sup>h</sup>* 273  
*l°mān* 228  
*l°me°badh* 242  
*l°mēkhālīhā* 226  
*l°Rūḥā* 273  
*lḥūrtēh* 230  
  
*madd°ā* 223  
*magn* 145  
*maḥšabḥthā* 223  
*malḳā* 229, 297, 299  
*māreṭ* 253  
*maške°bhā* 240  
*maškb<sup>h</sup>ā* 46, 47  
*m°dhūt°hōn* 231  
*memrē* 252  
*men* 237, 238  
*m°nāthā* 245  
*mentā* 245  
*m°lekh* 229, 239, 297  
  
*Naḥashbat* 225  
*°Naḥash-shebeṭ* 225  
*nahīrā* 230  
*nahīrē* 228, 273  
*naḥhšēh* 226, 252  
*°nāšā* 225  
*nehšā* 225  
*Nehšbeṭ* 225  
*n°ḥeth* 248  
*Nḥšbṭ* 225  
*nūhrā* 229, 237, 238, 245, 297  
  
*ōrḥyā* 247  
  
*paghr* <*i*> 253  
*paqdēh* 242  
*pīlē* 252

<i>p'yāsā</i> 241	<i>šūbhā</i> 229, 239
<i>qadmāyā</i> 225	<i>šubhā</i> 297
<i>qālā</i> 230	<i>šūrāihēh</i> 236
<i>qāryā</i> 231	<i>šūrīā</i> 230
<i>q'rā</i> 224	<i>šūrīhēh</i> 230, 261
<i>rabbā</i> 229, 242, 243, 273, 297, 299	<i>šābhūthā</i> 242
<i>Rabbūthā</i> 223	<i>tammīmā</i> 249
<i>radd'dhēh</i> 251	<i>taggīphā</i> 250
<i>re'yānā</i> 223	<i>tar'ūthā</i> 223
<i>rūhā</i> 228, 229, 238, 250, 290	<i>ṭaybūthā</i> 242
<i>Rūhā Hayyā</i> 290	<i>ṭ'in</i> 236
	<i>ṭ'lāthā</i> 242
<i>sabbālā</i> 229, 236, 297, 299, 305	<i>uḥdān</i> 303
<i>sāb'lā</i> 56, 297, 305	<i>'ulayhēn</i> 248
<i>ṣafath</i> 296, 298	
<i>saggīhā</i> 250, 251, 252	<i>w'b(a)n</i> 242
<i>šahḥel</i> 239	
<i>sahrā</i> 245	<i>'eyādihāyhēn</i> 241
<i>ṣaphath</i> 229	<i>'eyādhē</i> 241
<i>sa'rā</i> 253	<i>yathīr</i> 237, 238
<i>šennay</i> 252	
<i>s'ghā</i> 250	
<i>s'ghī</i> 250	<i>zahrā</i> 228, 240
<i>shenā</i> 250	<i>zemān</i> 114
<i>š'khīnāthā</i> 223	<i>zīwā</i> 229, 296, 298, 303
<i>š'khīnthā</i> 223	<i>zīwānā</i> 227
<i>š'rā</i> 253	<i>zīwānē</i> 91, 227, 236

## ARABIC

<i>'abnā</i> 265	<i>bahā'</i> 330
<i>'ālam</i> 151	<i>Bahja</i> 325
<i>'alaqūhum</i> 234	<i>bahjah</i> 325
<i>al-bahiyyah</i> 329, 330	<i>bahī</i> 330
<i>al-Bannā'</i> 285	<i>bahiyyah</i> 329, 330
<i>al-Bashīr</i> 281, 282	<i>bašīr</i> 281
<i>al-Ḥirš</i> 251	<i>bašr</i> 281
<i>al-ilākat al-xamsat</i> 91	<i>bušrā</i> 281
<i>al-Kathīr</i> 285	
<i>al-yamīn</i> 265	<i>Ḥabīb al-'Anwār</i> 258, 281
<i>'anāšīrat al-iṣānī</i> 'ašar 195	<i>ḥirš</i> 108
<i>aš-Sakwa</i> 251	
<i>'azamāt 'iṣānī</i> 'ašar 195	<i>istaraṭa min nūrihi</i> 227

*khāṭamū'l-fam* 335  
*khawāṭīm* (*xawāṭīm*) 111, 335

*malak* 305  
*mu'allim* 165  
*Mun'aqid* 48  
*muṣammas* 165

*naknaḥ* 329  
*Nahnaha* 328  
*Nahnahah* 328

*qāḍīm* 213  
*qissis* 165

*Rūḥ al-Ḥayāt* 290

*ṣakwat* 108  
*ṣaut* 260  
*Siddiqūn* 115

*tasbīḥ* 151  
*thalath khawāṭīm* 335

*Umm-al-Aḥyā'* 322  
*Umm-al-Ḥayāḥ* 322

*xawāṭīm* (*khawāṭīm*) 111, 335

*yamnah* 326  
*yumnah* 327

*zajriyyūn* 259  
*zaman* 115

## GREEK

ἀγαθός 323  
 ἄνθρωπος 264  
 ἀνθρώπους 318  
 Ἀρειμάνιος 149  
 ἄρχοντας 318  
 ἄρχοντες 187, 227

Βαάνης 287  
 βρέφος 89

γενένας 66  
 γνώσις 275

δέλεαρ 226  
 δέρματα 317  
 Δημιουργός 288  
 διδάσκαλος 165  
 δοράτιον 247  
 δυνάμεις 233  
 δύναμιν 264, 288  
 δώδεκα 195

εἰκόνα 236  
 ἐκλεκτοί 115  
 ἐπιθυμία 107  
 ἐπίσκοπος 165

ἐσταύρωσεν 233  
 ἔφαγον 94, 187, 227

Ζῶν Πνεῦμα 288

Κατηχούμενοι 138  
 κίνησις ἄτακτος 87  
 κυβερνῆται 195

λείψανα 40

Μεγέθους 223  
 Μήτηρ τῆς Ζωῆς 321  
 μίξεως 40

πανοπλίας 227  
 πατήρ 223  
 πλοῖον 41  
 πνεῦμα 288  
 πρεσβ[ε]ντής 240, 277  
 πρεσβύτερος 165  
 προφάνη 236

ρίζας 304  
 ῥυπαρός 287

Σακλᾶς 249, 305

σαρκῶν 318  
 σκάφος 41, 42  
 σκότους 227  
 στεφανηφόρος 225  
 σχιστός 167

τείχος 51, 201

Φεγγακότοχος 296, 303, 305, 328

φορέσαν 233  
 φύσις 222  
 φωστήρας 39, 40

ψυχή 275 n. 11

Ὠμοφόρος 297, 303, 305

# LATIN

*anima* 100, 101  
*aperio* 114  
*Auditores* 138

*belligerantem (Primum Hominem)* 112  
*belligerum (Adamantem)* 112

*capita* 236, 300  
*clipeum* 247  
*concupiscentia* 106, 107  
*confixus* 253  
*coram* 196

*deos* 195  
*Deus* 100  
*devoratum* 227  
*duodecim* 195

*Electi* 115  
*elementis (quinque)* 112  
*episcopus* 165  
*ex bona aqua* 43  
*ex igne bono* 43  
*expugnat* 301

*fabricat* 289  
*frater solis* 169

*Globus* 48  
*Gloriosum Regem* 62

*hastam* 247  
*heroam belligerum* 112

*impellentem* 239

*indulus* 233  
*in imo* 301  
*in imo versat* 62, 239

*laturarium* 300  
*Legatus* 240, 277, 279  
*libido* 106  
*ligatus* 253  
*lucem* 227  
*luminis* 195

*magister* 165  
*manus* 334  
*manuum (signaculum)* 111  
*Mater Vitae* 321  
*Mater Viventium* 321  
*membra* 195  
*mundum* 236, 289

*navi* 41

*oris (signaculum)* 111, 334

*Perfecti* 115  
*ponderatorem* 300  
*portat* 301  
*presbyter* 165  
*Primum Hominem* 112

*quinque antra elementorum* 48  
*quinque elementis* 112

*reliquias* 301  
*Rex Honoris* 299  
*rotas* 301

*saecula* 195

*scissus* 167

*signacula* 111, 334

*sinus* (*signaculum*) 111, 334

*solis* (*frater*) 169

*Spiritus Vivens* 288

*Splendi-tenens* 303

*suspendat* 302

*suspendere* 236

*suspendit* 301

*tenebris* 227

*tenere* 236

*Tertius Legatus* 240, 277, 279

*tres rotas* 62

*tria signacula* 334

*vincire* 38





# COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY INDO-IRANIAN SERIES

EDITED BY A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

PROFESSOR OF INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

---

*Volume 1. A Catalogue of the Collection of Persian Manuscripts* (including also some Turkish and Arabic) presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, by Alexander Smith Cochran, prepared and edited by A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON and ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, PH.D. New York, 1914.

*Cloth, 8vo, xxv + 187 pages, ill., \$2.50 net.*

The collection of Oriental manuscripts catalogued in this volume was presented to the Metropolitan Museum in March, 1913. All of the manuscripts, a number of which are in certain respects unique, are handsomely illuminated and adorned with beautiful miniatures. The catalogue records the technical details, as well as matters of literary and historical importance connected with the volumes.

*Volume 2. Indo-Iranian Phonology, with Special Reference to the Middle and New Indo-Iranian Languages*, by LOUIS H. GRAY, PH.D., sometime Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University. New York, 1902.

*Cloth, 8vo, xvii + 264 pages, \$2.75 net.*

A brief statement of the phonetic developments undergone by the principal Indo-Iranian languages from the Sanskrit, Avestan, and Old Persian through the Pali, the Prakrits, and Pahlavi down to the Hindi, Singhalese, New Persian, Afghan, and other Indo-Iranian dialects.

*Volume 3. A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama, with an Introductory Sketch of the Dramatic Literature of India*, by MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JR., A.M., sometime Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University. New York, 1906.

*Cloth, 8vo, xi + 105 pages, \$2.50 net.*

The design of this bibliography is to give as complete a list as possible of all printed and manuscript Sanskrit plays and of articles and works relating

to the Hindu drama. The introduction furnishes a convenient epitome of the whole subject.

*Volume 4. An Index Verborum of the Fragments of the Avesta*, by MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JR., A.M. New York, 1901.

*Cloth, 8vo, xiv + 106 pages, \$2.50 net.*

This index collects and cites all examples of each word found in the hitherto discovered fragments not included in Geldner's edition of the Avesta.

*Volume 5. Sayings of Buddha: the Iti-vuttaka*, a Pali Work of the Buddhist Canon, for the First Time translated, with Introduction and Notes, by JUSTIN HARTLEY MOORE, A.M., PH.D. (Columbia), [formerly] Instructor in French in the College of the City of New York. New York, 1908.

*Cloth, 8vo, xiii + 142 pages, \$2.50 net.*

This volume presents a Buddhistic work not hitherto accessible in translation. The introduction treats of the composition and general character of the work, the authenticity of certain of its sections, and the chief features of its style and language.

*Volume 6. The Nyaishes, or Zoroastrian Litanies. Avestan Text with the Pahlavi, Sanskrit, Persian, and Gujarati Versions, edited together and translated with Notes*, by MANECKJI NUSSERVANJI DHALLA, A.M., PH.D. (Khordah Avesta, Part 1.) New York, 1908.

*Cloth, 8vo, xxii + 235 pages. Out of print.*

The Pahlavi text, here edited and translated for the first time, is the result of a collation of 17 manuscripts and forms an addition to the existing fund of Pahlavi literature. The introduction gives an account of the manuscript material and discusses the relation of the various versions, their characteristics, and their value.

*Volume 7. The Daśarūpa, a Treatise on Hindu Dramaturgy* by Dhananjaya, now first translated from the Sanskrit, with the Text and an Introduction and Notes, by GEORGE C. O. HAAS, A.M., PH.D., sometime Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University. New York, 1912.

*Cloth, 8vo, xlv + 169 pages, \$2.75 net.*

This work, composed at the court of King Muñja of Mālava toward the end of the 10th century, is one of the most important treatises on the canons of dramatic composition in India. The translation here presented is accom-

## LIST OF VOLUMES

panied by the text and prefaced by an introduction dealing chiefly with the scope and characteristics of the work and of its commentary. The notes include, as a special feature, references to parallel passages in all available dramaturgic and rhetorical treatises.

**Volume 8. Vāsavadattā, a Sanskrit Romance** by Subandhu, translated, with an Introduction and Notes, by LOUIS H. GRAY, PH.D. New York, 1913.

*Cloth, 8vo, xiii + 214 pages, \$2.75 net.*

This romance is one of the best examples of the artificial and ornate style in Sanskrit prose. Besides the translation, the volume contains also the transliterated text of the South Indian recension, which differs to a noteworthy degree from that of Hall, and a bibliography. The relation of the Sanskrit romance to the Occidental, especially the Greek, is discussed in the introduction, and the notes include parallels of incident in modern Indian and other folk-tales, as well as points of resemblance with other Sanskrit romances.

**Volume 9. The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra**, edited with a Translation and Notes and an Introduction, together with the Text and Translation of Bāṇa's Caṇḍīsataka, by GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, A.M., PH.D., Instructor in Latin in the College of the City of New York. New York, 1917.

*Cloth, 8vo, xxii + 362 pages, ill., \$2.75 net.*

This volume presents the works of a Hindu poet of the 7th century A.D. Besides the well-known Sūryaśataka it includes also the Mayūrāṣṭaka, printed for the first time from the unique birch-bark manuscript in the Tübingen University Library, and the anthology stanzas attributed to Mayūra. The introduction gives an account of Mayūra's life and works and discusses the question of the supposedly rival poem of Bāṇa, which is added to the volume in text and translation.

**Volume 10. Priyadarśikā, a Sanskrit Drama** by Harsha, King of Northern India in the Seventh Century A.D., translated into English by G. K. NARIMAN, A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, and CHARLES J. OGDEN, PH.D., with an Introduction and Notes by the two latter, together with the Text in Transliteration. New York, 1923.

*Cloth, 8vo, cxi + 137 pages, ill., \$2.75 net.*

This romantic drama on the adventures of a lost princess is now published for the first time in English translation, and the text has been reproduced in transliteration on the pages opposite, in order to aid students in rapid

## COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY INDO-IRANIAN SERIES

reading. An extensive introduction in ten parts deals with Harsha as king and as author, with the legend of Udayana, and with other literary and linguistic aspects of the play. Copious notes are appended for the discussion of individual points and the elucidation of the text. A reproduction of a copper-plate grant containing Harsha's autograph signature is included as a frontispiece.

*Volume 11. The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life, from Death to the Individual Judgment, by JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY, A.M., Ph.D., Late Fellow of Mulla Firoz Madressa and of St. Xavier's College, Bombay University, sometime Fellow and Lecturer in Indo-Iranian Languages, Columbia University. New York, 1926. [Second edition appeared in 1929.]*

*Cloth, 8vo, xxviii + 126 pages, \$3.00 net.*

This volume presents and discusses in orderly sequence the statements contained in the Gāthās, the Later Avesta, the Pahlavi writings, and the Parsi-Persian literature with reference to the experience of the righteous and the wicked soul during the first three nights after death, the manifestation of the Daēnā, or Conscience, to the soul, the Individual Judgment, and the crossing of the Chinvat Bridge. A comprehensive bibliography is included.

*Volume 12. Zoroastrian Studies: The Iranian Religion and Various Monographs, by A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON. New York, 1928.*

*Cloth, 8vo, xxxiii + 325 pages, \$4.00 net.*

This volume comprises three parts. The first part, on the Iranian Religion, contains an account of Zoroastrianism, which was printed in a German translation in Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (1903) and is now made available in its original English form, but expanded by so much added material as to make it in large measure a new contribution. The second part is devoted to a detailed study of the Zoroastrian doctrine of the freedom of the will and is here presented for the first time. The third part comprises a series of miscellaneous studies relating to Zoroaster's life and to matters connected with the religion.

## KINDRED PUBLICATIONS

*Volume 13. Researches in Manichaeism, with Special Reference to the Turfan Fragments, by A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.* New York, 1932.

*Cloth, 8vo, xxxviii + 393 pages, \$5.00 net.*

This volume comprises a series of special essays and researches, thirteen Studies in all. An introductory sketch of Manichaeism serves as a prelude, followed by critical translations made from original Manichaean documents in Turfan Pahlavi, or Middle Persian, which were discovered in Central Asia during the first decade of the present century and a little later. These fragmentary texts are given in a transliterated form, followed by a word-for-word translation, together with full notes of a philological and illustrative character. In addition to these actual Manichaean documents, there is given a literal rendering and elucidation of three non-Manichaean, or rather anti-Manichaean texts; two of these are written respectively in Pāzand and Book Pahlavi by Zoroastrian controversialists, while the other is in Syriac by Theodore bar Khoni (or Konai), Nestorian Bishop of Kashkar in Lower Babylonia, but all three throw light from outside upon the religion of Mānī. Several short monographs on Manichaean subjects complete the work.

---

## VOLUME ON ZOROASTER

The following volume, not in the Indo-Iranian Series, is also published by the Columbia University Press:

**Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, by A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.** New York, 1899.

*Cloth, 8vo, xxiii + 314 pages, ill., \$5.00 net.*

This work aims to collect in one volume all that is known about the great Iranian prophet. The story of the life and ministry of Zoroaster is told in twelve chapters, and these are followed by appendixes on explanations of Zoroaster's name, the date of the Prophet, Zoroastrian chronology, Zoroaster's native place and the scene of his ministry, and classical and other passages mentioning his name. A map and three illustrations accompany the volume.

---

## WORKS ON AVESTAN

BY PROFESSOR A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

The following publications on Avestan may now be obtained in America from the Columbia University Press:—

**An Avesta Grammar** in Comparison with Sanskrit. Part I: Phonology, Inflection, Word-formation, with an Introduction on the Avesta. Stuttgart, 1892. (Anastatic reprint.)

*Cloth, 8vo, xlviii + 273 pages, \$2.50 net.*

This work is a systematic presentation of the sounds and forms of the language of the Avesta. The variations between the older (Gāthic) and the younger form of the language are emphasized, and in the entire treatment the parallels with Vedic Sanskrit are kept in view. (Part II, dealing with the syntax, has never been published.)

**Avesta Reader.** First Series: Easier Texts, Notes, and Vocabulary. Stuttgart, 1893. (Anastatic reprint.)

*Cloth, 8vo, viii + 112 pages, \$1.60 net.*

This book provides suitable material for reading after the rudiments of the language have been mastered. The selections are of progressive difficulty and are chosen from various parts of the Avestan texts. Constant reference is made, in the notes, to the author's *Avesta Grammar*.

**A Hymn of Zoroaster: Yasna 31**, translated with Comments. Stuttgart, 1888.

*Paper, 8vo, viii + 62 pages, \$2.00 net.*

The text in Avestan characters and an English version of this Gāthic hymn are given on opposite pages, followed by the transliterated text and explanatory notes.

**The Avestan Alphabet and its Transcription.** With Appendices. Stuttgart, 1890.

*Paper, 8vo, 36 pages, \$0.75 net.*

A discussion of the problem of the transliteration of the Avestan characters, with conclusions regarding the most satisfactory solution. Practical suggestions for printers are included.

---

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

---

FOREIGN AGENT

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

HUMPHREY MILFORD

Amen House, London, E. C.